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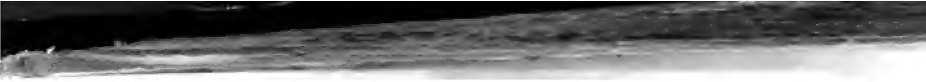


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THE
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AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM, LORD AUCKLAND

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OF
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With a Preface and Introduction

BY THE RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV.

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ERRATA.

Page 28, *note*, for "Doctor Dungenan," read "Doctor Duigenan."

" 237, line 16, for "they would see," read "they could see."

" 230, *note* to "yesterday," refers to "yesterday, page 228, seventh line from bottom.

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM, FIRST LORD AUCKLAND.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Mr. Pitt's Secret Letter. — Defeat of Colonel Walpole. — Formidable Aspect of the Rebellion. — Bravery of the Insurgents. — Arrival of the English Regiments in Ireland. — The Rebels defeated. — Departure of Lord Camden. — Bonaparte's Expedition. — The Rebels defeated at Wexford. — The French Expedition to Egypt. — Treaty between Austria and Naples. — Mr. Canning's New Morality. — Respite of Oliver Bond.

IN June Lord Auckland received a letter from Mr. Pitt, respecting a plan of union with Ireland, and from this time, until the final passing of the measure in 1800, his time was chiefly employed in preparing details, corresponding* with members of the Irish Government, and in soothing the fears of the English manufacturers.

In fact, Lord Auckland served Mr. Pitt's Government quite as efficiently as when he negotiated the commercial treaty with France.

* A portion of Lord Auckland's letters will be found in the *Castlereagh Correspondence*; they chiefly relate to the tariff established between the two countries.

Mr. Charles Ross, the able editor of the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, states in a note that Lord Auckland was President of the Board of Trade at this time. This is not the fact: he did the President's work, but he was still kept in the office of joint Postmaster-General.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

(Secret.)

Downing Street, Monday, June 4th.

My dear Lord,—Lord Grenville and I have had a good deal of discussion lately on the subject of following the termination of the present crisis in Ireland by immediate steps for a Union.

We have referred to the Act of Queen Anne for the leading points enumerated there, which of course must be varied in the application, and we think we see daylight in almost everything but what relates to trade and revenue. I send you a short note, which is nothing but an enumeration of the matters contained in the Act of Anne, and a paper of Lord Grenville's much more to the purpose.

We both agreed that we had the best chance of some useful suggestion on the difficult point I have mentioned, by bringing it under your view.

I have received a gracious prohibition from Court to-day, which will enable me to take a second look at Hollywood, which is in its greatest beauty.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Tuesday.

My dear Lord,—Our rebellion, I am sorry to say, begins to wear a very serious and formidable aspect. The insurgents are now in possession of nearly the whole of the county of Wexford, and are so strong that I fear the force which has been sent against them is altogether unequal to dislodge them. Yesterday a column of 500 of the King's troops received a very severe check near Gorey, and lost three pieces of cannon, with all their ammunition, bread carts, &c.

This misfortune was altogether owing to the rashness and ignorance of Colonel Walpole, who commanded them, and was killed early in the action.

General Loftus, who commanded another body of troops, which was to have co-operated with Walpole, has fallen back several miles, and as yet we have had no accounts from Johnston and Eustace (useless), who marched from another point against Wexford. Our situation is critical in the extreme. We know that there has been a complete military organisation of the people in three-fourths of the kingdom. In the North nothing will keep the rebels quiet but a conviction that where treason has broken out, the rebellion is merely Popish; but even with this impression on their minds, we cannot be certain that their love of republicanism will not outweigh their inveteracy against Popery. In the capital there is a rebel army organised, and if the garrison was forced out to meet an invading army from the side of Wexford, they would probably, on their return, find the metropolis in possession of its proper rebel troops. In a word, such is the extent of treason in Ireland, that if any one district is left uncovered by troops, it will be immediately possessed by its own proper rebels.

Believe me, I do not magnify our danger; you know that I have long foreseen the mischief, and condemned the imbecility which has suffered it to extend itself. But as the mischief has taken place, if Great Britain is really interested in preserving this country, she ought instantly to push over a very large force to this coast, which may save her hereafter many millions in money and many thousands of her soldiers.

We also stand in need very much of some general officers who know somewhat of their profession.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 5th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—I am very much concerned for the unfortunate account I am about to give you.

General Loftus and Colonel Walpole, with about 1100 men, marched towards Wexford; they divided their men into two bodies; Loftus marched the coast road, and Walpole, with about 500, the inland road; they were to join at Enniscorthy, about five miles from Gorey, at a mountain called Sleive Boug. He saw the enemy in force on the hill, very numerous. Part of them descended towards a plain or valley; Walpole moved on to meet them, and imprudently passed through a long narrow road, with high hedges on each side, behind which all their musketry were placed. Walpole marched in column, with two 6-pounders in the centre. He was attacked from the hedges, and was killed very early in the action; his troops were thrown into great confusion; they retreated, leaving the cannon, and, I hear, a howitzer of 5½ inches, behind. The Armagh regiment of militia covered the retreat with great gallantry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cope, a young man unused to war, is said to have acted with great spirit and conduct at the head of that regiment. They lost 63 men: Walpole and a captain of the Ancient Britons were killed; a major, a captain, and a lieutenant of the Derry, and a captain-lieutenant of the King's County militia, wounded. They retreated to high ground near Gorey, about 430, under the command of Sir W. W. Wynne, but even there they were afraid to stay and make a stand, and they have fallen back towards Arklow.

Loftus is, we suppose, gone on. We are very anxious, you may be sure, to hear from Wexford the grand issue of the attack there, which we supposed was to take place yesterday; but probably this event may cause delay. Delay is ruin to us, for the rebels grow strong as we grow weak; people here are dispirited this day by this event; but I hope for good news this evening.

There is a great cry for troops from you. It is said here that England does not attend to us; that sending 4000 men is nothing; that they cannot put down at

once the rebellion; that they must remain here, and carry on a war of length, in which our numbers will decrease, theirs will increase, and be made soldiers of; that if 20,000 were sent at once, it would put down the rebellion at once in ten days, and that they might return again directly. They remind us of America, where the same policy would have saved the empire, and many, many millions of money. Come they must at last, if the war continues, and it may be then too late, and at a tenfold expense. But all this and much more will be written by the messenger who goes off before this can—the cabinet have advised a very strong letter to be written.

A gentleman just tells me there is an express just come in. If I hear more I will add it.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 6th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—Nothing new this day as yet, now four o'clock; but we expect every minute the result of an attack, ordered to be made by General Champagne, on the rebels collected at Timahoe, about two miles from Sallins on the Grand Canal.

We have strong reports, which appear to have some foundation, that a party of the Wexford rebels marched to Ross; that General Eustace retreated over the bridge; and when they attempted to attack him, that he beat them, killed 400, and drove them out of the town. There are no authentic accounts of this affair, but it is supposed that there has been some action at Ross.

Troops are marching from all quarters to surround the Wexford rebels. I hope, by to-morrow night, there will be from 8000 to 9000 men. Lake will take the command, and, I trust, give a good account of the rebels.

The affair in which Walpole paid the forfeit of his life for his folly and imprudence, has raised the hopes of the rebels exceedingly. Walpole's conduct is highly blamed. He was advised to send out parties on his flanks, but would not. He refused the aid of above 300 yeomen, who knew the country well; and on he marched, as if to slaughter. Captain Duncan, who commanded the artillery, saw a man on a good horse gallop from the main body on the hill down to a scrub wood on the right, and there lost sight of him. He immediately suspected the enemy were in ambush, and told Walpole; but it was too late; for while he was speaking to him they were fired on from both sides. The guns were behind the grenadiers, and could not fire. Duncan, when he saw the men in confusion, and that the guns must be lost, stuck to one of them, and spiked it; and, while doing this, a priest came down to him, with his beads about his neck, and shot Duncan in the left arm; on which he shot the priest dead.

We have a thousand instances to prove that this is a Popish plot, and our witnesses all confirm it. This has a great impression on the Northern Protestants, who have refused their leaders to rise, saying it was a Popish plot, and that they would not venture their life or their property, when they knew they could not succeed. If the Southern overturned the Government, or that the French arrived, they would then rise against the Government of England.

There are plots and conspiracies discovered every day, and in every part of the kingdom, and amazing numbers of men of a better description, and gentlemen, concerned. Is it not strange that a conspiracy which has been known to be going on for so many years should have been permitted to proceed to such a length?

I entirely agree with you that our danger is great, unless this rebellion be completely put down before it is possible for the French to get here. Were they to land 5000 men, with officers and arms, &c.,

England must have a five or ten years' war to regain this country. It is not for Ireland you are to fight now, but for Great Britain and the empire, nay, for all Europe; for should the French once get fixed in Ireland, farewell to everything.

People are flying by the score to England, through fear. Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin.

My dear Lord,—There has been a very sharp action with the rebels at New Ross, a town which lies midway between Waterford and Wexford. It would seem that their object was to force their passage to Waterford; for they attacked the King's troops at five o'clock in the morning of Tuesday with uncommon fury, and did not give up the assault till they had been three times repulsed. The action, by the general's report (Johnston), continued ten hours, and at the first onset our troops were beat back with the loss of four guns. However, Johnston rallied them, and charged at their head. He recovered his guns, and took from the rebels three or four ship-guns which they had brought into the field. The rebels lost in killed more than 2500 men; but this lesson has not deterred them from collecting their scattered troops, which are now assembled in very great numbers on the high grounds between Ross and Wexford, and on the other side of Wexford towards Arklow and Hacketstown. There they seem determined to maintain themselves till they are dislodged, which I trust will very soon happen, as General Lake has ordered a very large force to march down upon them from different points, and means, as I understand, immediately to go down and take the command of the whole force which is to act against them.

Our loss in the last action has been inconsiderable, but amongst the killed, I am extremely sorry to in-

form you, we have to lament poor Lord Mountjoy. The obstinacy with which the rebels fought in this battle, proves the justice of Lord Grenville's observation ; and there is a circumstance which makes it still more important to put down this great effort of rebellion in the county of Wexford instantly, if it be possible. The rebel camps are all filled with priests, who have, certainly in a great degree, if not altogether, worked upon the miserable wretches who have been heretofore sacrificed, to fight with a degree of enthusiasm scarcely to be credited. Heretofore the Popish soldiers in our ranks have been steady ; but if these villains should be enabled to extend their influence to our camps, the consequences must be fatal.

As to the subject of a union with the British Parliament, I have long been of opinion that nothing short of it can save this country. I stated this opinion very strongly to Mr. Pitt in the year 1793, immediately after that fatal mistake into which he was betrayed by Mr. Burke and Mr. Dundas, in receiving an appeal from the Irish Parliament by a Popish democracy. I again stated the same opinion to him in the last winter ; and, if this were a time for it, I think I could make it clear and plain to every dispassionate man in the British empire, that it is utterly impossible to preserve this country to the British Crown, if we are to depend upon the precarious bond of union which now subsists between Great Britain and Ireland. It makes me almost mad when I look back at the madness, folly, and corruption in both countries, which has brought us to the verge of destruction.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Thursday, 11.15 P.M.

My dear Lord,—The Bishop of Lincoln came to town this evening, and is here. If you know what

passed this morning respecting the Land Tax, pray let us know to-morrow morning. You will be sure of finding him, if not me, at a reasonable hour of breakfast.

Yours ever,
W. PRR.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 8th, 1798.

My dear Auckland, — The victory obtained by General Johnston, of which I gave you an account yesterday, has lost much of its comfort to me, by my private loss. My dear friend Mountjoy * is gone; he was killed fighting most gallantly at the head of his regiment. His loss most deeply afflicts me, left already in this wide world with but a few of the numerous friends I had a few years since. He was a sincere friend, a most excellent man, and truly attached to me. I must ever lament his fate, cut off by those villains whose cause he was the first great advocate for, and the first who has fallen by them; but he will not be the last. It appears that these men, inflamed by their priests, who accompany them in their ranks, fight with a mad desperation. It is becoming too apparent that this is to be a religious bloody war. We must conceal it as long as we can, because a great part of our army, and most of our militia, are Papists; but it cannot be long concealed. To the murders they commit on unarmed Protestants, is added the horror of their shooting many of their Protestant prisoners. I saw the deposition of a man who had been a prisoner of theirs, by trade a barber. They twice brought him out to shoot him, but he was saved for the purpose of shaving and dressing some of the officers. He says there were seven other Protestants with him, three of whom

* Father of the first and last Lord Blessington. He was Mr. Beresford's brother-in-law.

he saw shot, and does not know what became of the other four, not having seen them for two days before he made his escape, which he did on their camp at Timahoe being attacked.

This circumstance of a religious war must urge most strongly the necessity of sending as many men over as is possible, and, if necessary, passing an Act through both Houses, in a day, to authorise the sending of such militia and yeomen as will voluntarily come; for if the militia should turn, or the French come, before the contest is ended and the rebellion crushed, Ireland goes first, and Great Britain follows, and all Europe after. Eight-tenths of the Papists of the kingdom are concerned in this rebellion. The Northern Protestants now are alarmed; but we cannot make them more so, lest we disgust the militia and Papists of the army. It is in vain to argue on this subject, were my mind in a state of ease. The danger is clear and apparent, and requires no argument. All hazards must be run by England, in sending troops, if they think it necessary to save Ireland with as little hazard and expense as possible.

Adieu, my dear friend, and may God preserve you to your family and friends. Ever yours,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

My dear Lord, — I am very glad the Land Tax debate has passed so well, and that the session is hastening to its end in the House of Lords almost as quietly as in the House of Commons.

I should be very glad to see you at dinner tomorrow, but I shall rather prefer breakfast, as I think there is nothing to prevent my returning to Hollwood in the forenoon.

The check in Wexford is easily repaired with good management, and we have taken such measures to-

day to give additional strength, that I feel extremely at ease. I am going on very well.*

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Lees to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, June 9th, 1798.

The bulletin of the day says almost everything that I can state to you. I think a letter which I have enclosed to Lord Townshend, and which I had not time to copy, gives a better account of the Antrim business than the bulletin. We have not yet a single soldier from your side on this. Assistance is much wanted, for our yeomanry, particularly, are harassed to death. All our women are running off: Lady Camden goes to-morrow—the *watch-word*—my wife and family follow, and every female will run off as fast as vessels can be got for them. The rising in the North, unexpected, has caused serious alarm; and, if we do not put it down immediately, we shall have a six months', or as many years', work of it.

E. LEES.

The Archbishop of Cashel to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, June 9th.

My dear Lord,—I have only time to tell you that the rebellion has now broken out in the North, as you will see by the enclosed bulletin, the contents of which were received this day. Be assured that if you do not send to us 20,000 men, or thereabout, *instantly*, you will either lose this island, or have it to reconquer at an expense of men and money far exceeding what is necessary for its preservation.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

CHARLES CASHEL.

* Mr. Pitt at this time was very ill.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 9th, 1798.

My dear Auckland — Mischief accumulates, the County Antrim is risen, and we expect the County Down will be up immediately. There was to have been a meeting of the magistrates of County Antrim, held at Antrim, and the design was to have caught them all and murdered them. General Nugent had information of their plan, and stopped all the magistrates he could. Lord O'Neil, who lived on the other side of Antrim, came in, not knowing their intention: they have wounded him desperately in three places. General Nugent sent different parties of troops to Antrim; the first party, under Colonel Lumley, were beaten, twenty-two of them killed, and Colonel Dunn. Lumley is wounded in the leg and ankle, and it is said will lose his leg; some other officers are also wounded. The rebels fired out of the houses on them, and Lumley was in too great a hurry, and did not wait for his light infantry or cannon. Two pieces of the flying artillery came up and were taken possession of by the rebels; but Colonel Durham came to Lumley's assistance, took post on two hills, and beat down the town, and drove out the rebels, who were slaughtered on all sides, the cannon retaken, and one of two brass field-pieces which they had, was also taken. The rebels also attacked a lieutenant and twenty men in the barracks of Larne, who made a gallant defence, and beat them off.

Durham is reinforced, and pursuing the rebels towards Randalstown, and General Knox is advancing against them over Toomb Bridge, so that they will probably be surrounded.

I give you this short account lest the bulletin should not arrive in time.

There are accounts also from Mill Street, in the County Cork, on the borders of Kerry, that there

is a rising; in short, it is very clear that we shall have a very general rising.

What can keep the troops from England? it is impossible to say what a damp their not being come anywhere throws upon our cause. I hope that ministers have not been duped to imagine that General Dundas's treaty was a sign that the rebellion was over. I have seen letters which mention, with great exultation, the whole rebel army having surrendered at discretion, and all being over; and, quoting the Duke of Portland's letter to the Lord Mayor, do not be duped. I fear the mischief is only now beginning, and if the French get here before these villains are crushed, God only knows when they will be got out of this kingdom. Our fleets have a chance certainly of intercepting the Toulon* armament; but the sea is very wide, and I dread very much an attempt of all the enemies' fleets—Toulon, Brest, Spanish, and Dutch—all at one time, and if any one of them get into this kingdom, we shall be undone in our present circumstances. The only comfort we have is that the Northern Protestants begin to see their danger, and are arming in our favour; but the truth is that Government, I see, are afraid to trust them, and particularly lest the Papists of the militia and army should take affront. For God's sake urge them to send at once the strongest force they possibly can.

My great hopes are that the risings will not be all at the same time, but one after the other, so as to have one crushed before the other begin. Their numbers are amazing—there were above 22,000 at the attack of Ross. We had but 1500, of which 300 were not actually in the battle, being placed to guard the barracks and other such necessary service. They have besides an army of several thousands in and near Wexford, and all through that country, besides what they have in the county of Wicklow, in Kildare

* It was thought by many that Bonaparte's expedition was intended for Ireland.

and Carlow, and in Queen's County, not to talk of Dublin and its neighbourhood; and Meath, Westmeath, Louth, and all the North.

Dundas's business was very unfortunate; it is reprobated here universally; no arms given up; five ragamuffins were given up, the best of whom was a journeyman carpenter, and the whole of the rabble marched and joined the Wexford rebels.

Yours ever,
J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 11th, 1798.

My dear Auckland, — I send you the bulletin of Saturday and Sunday. The former I sent to the post on Saturday, but it was too late. By the latter you will see that the rebels attacked General Needham at Arklow, and were defeated; but you do not see the whole truth. Our accounts of yesterday are, in my opinion, very serious indeed. It appears from four of the Ancient Britons, who were prisoners with the rebels, and whom they forced to serve their guns, and who deserted from them during the battle, that they have strong bodies in Wexford, in Enniscorthy, and in Gorey, all which towns they possess; that they have an army opposite to Ross of 18,000; at Vinegar Hill, near Wexford, is the main body of 25,000; and General Needham writes, that the army which attacked him on Saturday was at least 19,000 men: that is, 62,000 men besides their garrisons. They have also bodies collected again at Blackmore Hill, in Wicklow, and another near Kilcock. These two bodies were before collected and dispersed; but so soon as the army retired, they collected again. Add to this, that we have to dread rising in various other counties. To oppose these forces we have General Johnston at Ross, with under 2000; we have General Loftus at Tullow, with, perhaps, 1500

men ; and General Needham, with under 1200 men at Arklow ; and General Dundas, in the county of Kildare, with a small force, perhaps 800, kept at check ; and Sir James Duff, in Queen's County, supported mostly by yeomen. The garrison of Dublin has near 5000 yeomen ; the troops of the line and militia are so bandied about, I know not how many are in Dublin, not above three or four regiments. If the rebels had forced Needham, there was nothing to prevent their coming directly to the metropolis, and fighting for it. This town is full as bad, if not worse than ever, and will be so until the state prisoners, now in gaol, are tried and executed. The commission opens this day, but will adjourn for a fortnight. It is the opinion of the lawyers that they should not proceed to business in these times, and yet I foresee that this will make a very great and general dissatisfaction among the loyal citizens. However, what is right must be done.

To go back to the battle of Arklow. The rebels attacked Needham with the most determined resolution ; they actually, he says, came up so as to touch the muzzle of the cannon. He was very strongly posted, and the battle lasted from six to nine ; and when they were defeated and beaten, he dared not quit his position, or venture to pursue them. They lost, therefore, only from 200 to 300 men. They retired towards Gorey, declaring that they would return and attack again. A few men is a very great loss to us, 1000 is nothing to them.

The Ancient Britons who made their escape assured Needham that the priests, who attend the army, say mass almost every hour, and work up the people's mind to enthusiasm. There are two or three killed in every battle.

A further misfortune that we have had to contend with is, that the generals (I ought to say some generals) have not obeyed the orders they received. Sir James Stewart, who has from the beginning taken

upon him to be the judge what is right, what wrong, refused to send forward three regiments ordered by General Lake, and Lord Clanricarde refused to send forward two regiments ordered from Connaught. The delaying obedience to the general's orders is monstrous, and would have endangered the capital had the rebels been able to pass Needham.

Stewart set out with Sir Ralph Abercromby, in opposition to the Government of the country, and both insisted that there was no such thing as rebellion in the minds of the people, that all was the misrepresentation of party. Sir Ralph has been the cause of much of our difficulties, and yet he is rewarded by being made commander in Scotland, and it is reported here that he is to be made an Irish Peer for his services to this country. I hope not. The minds of his Majesty's best and most loyal subjects are strongly agitated. They think that the country is ill-treated, and they are actually wild at the idea of this peerage, and will think it a high insult to the kingdom.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 12th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—I am just come from the Castle. This day's despatches have altered the faces and tunes of people here; they are in high spirits. Accounts are come (which, by the bye, are not true) that seven regiments are actually arrived at Cork. This is not contradicted, as we know they will be here before a counter-account can arrive, and that three more are on the sea for Belfast, making together 5000 men; and that 5000 more are coming, part of which, viz. the Guards, are to be conveyed in five ships of the line; which, with five others coming, or here, are to constitute the guard of our coasts. The confidence which this has inspired is very pleasing to

me to see; but I request you to urge the sending some regiments of militia, even one, two, or three. It is the best, perhaps (as I hope) the only opportunity, you may ever have of obtaining a law which I am convinced would go farther to secure the connection between the two countries, than any other that could be made,—I mean a law which should make the militia of both countries the militia of the empire, and subject to be employed in either kingdom. I long since started this idea to you, and the more I think on the subject, the stronger I wish for it. I know that there can be no occasion to enforce an idea so self-evidently clear, but I only fear the losing so glorious an opportunity of carrying it into effect.

Our news from Wexford this day is, that our posts at Arklow, at Hacketstown, and at Tullow, have been strengthened; and that Johnston at Ross, and Loftus, Needham, and Major Hardy were in their respective stations watching the rebels; and although not yet enabled to attack them, yet not in fear of being attacked without ample vengeance.

By all the accounts I have seen from every officer who is opposed to these dogs, they are a most formidable enemy. The country is in their favour, they are very numerous, and they fight with an impetuosity and enthusiasm that nothing but religious zeal can inspire. They never stir without a legion of priests, and say mass five, six, or ten times a day.

Our news from the North is pleasing. The people are terrified; the moment they found their property in danger, they cried *peccavi*. General Nugent seems to think that he will be able to cool them, and the very idea of English troops will help exceedingly the recovery of their senses. However, great caution is necessary, for a defeat on our part would have the most pernicious and fatal consequences.

We hear, and I hope with truth, of your quadruple alliance. God send good employment to the friends of mankind in Gaul! Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 13th, 1768.

My dear Auckland,— There is little news this day : what has been received is of a pleasing nature. The Northerners, on finding that Nugent* and Clavering were certainly in earnest in their threats, are terrified, and want to submit; but both Nugent and Clavering insist upon their leaders and arms being given up. On non-compliance several towns have been burnt, and that has had the proper effect. And, also, that the Orangemen are coming forward in great numbers to fight them; and many of the Dissenters, seeing the work of the South, have taken fright and forsaken the cause; but, notwithstanding, I do not put implicit confidence in these men—were the French to arrive, or the Southern rebels to have success, they would rise again.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, June 14th, 1798.

My dear Lord,— The report of French officers having been taken in the neighbourhood of Clonmel is altogether unfounded. If any such should be found in the county of Wexford, your hint with respect to their treatment will deserve very serious attention. The meditated attack on the rebel armies in that district has been prevented by the unexampled misconduct of Sir James Stewart, who commands at Cork. General Lake had sent down an order to four regiments to march forward from the neighbourhood of Cork and Clonmel, and reported his order to Stewart, who immediately countermanded it, and brought back the regiments which had advanced to their old quarters. What, perhaps, will surprise you,

* General Nugent defeated Lord Moira's "Loyal Barbarians" of Ballinahinch, on June 13th.

as much as it does me, is, that General Sir James Stewart remains in his command at Cork, and probably will escape punishment or censure for a crime which might have endangered our existence, and certainly has very considerably augmented our difficulties and dangers. You will see that Nugent is proceeding with vigour against the rebels in the North, where I hope they will be sickened. We wait only for the arrival of the 100th Regiment in the Bay of Dublin, to strengthen our garrison, in order to move against the Wexford rebels. If they should receive a very exemplary chastisement, we may hope the best; but till that event takes place, our situation will remain critical. This day, a Mr. Esmond, a gentleman of a very old Catholic family, possessed of more than one thousand pounds permanent yearly income, was hanged on clear evidence that he had conducted an attack upon a small barrack in the county of Kildare, in which the rebels killed every man whom they found, with many aggravated circumstances of barbarity. I have paid my debt to you to Lees.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, June 14th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,— All the news is contained in the bulletin. These villains fly from one place to another, and are doing great mischief to individuals about the neighbourhood of Dublin — they plundered Lord Leitrim's last night, and several other houses.

Most strange, not a man* yet arrived in the South or at Dublin; I hear some are at Carrickfergus. The Dutch man-of-war and the frigate with the troops were seen off Kinsale last Sunday, and are not yet arrived.

We have a great many accounts of the numbers in County Wexford: they are certainly 70,000.

* From England.

The business does not appear to spread in the North.

I am just come in. Just as I reached Carlisle Bridge, Dr. Esmond was hanged, which operation I was, of course, a spectator of; he would not say a word, except "I forgive the world, God forgive me my sins." He was a lieutenant of yeomanry; drank wine with Captain Swayne in the evening; came in his uniform at night at the head of the rebels, murdered Swayne, burned the barracks, and forty-four out of fifty men. He was brother to Sir Thomas.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 16th, 1798.

My dear Auckland, — No bulletin this day. Our news from the North is pretty good; the rebels find it will not do, and are very anxious to get pardon, and give up their arms; but that cannot be complied with, unless they give up their leaders, and, *bonâ fide*, their arms.

I am just come from Lord Camden, who surprised me extremely indeed, when he confidentially communicated to me his departure, and the coming of Lord Cornwallis. I received yours of the 12th on my way to the Castle, and had just read it, and as you had not said a word on the subject I was the more surprised; you will think it odd, perhaps, that I should be so, after my having more than once written to you that I suspected he would not stay, but, however, I did not expect such a sudden shot.

I hope and trust that Lord Cornwallis's eyes are now opened as to the Roman Catholics. Should he come here with the sentiments he some time since entertained of them, I cannot say what might be the consequence.

I do not think that I will be at the trouble to endeavour to have my son continued a chaplain. I see

very little chance of getting him effectually recommended; he has been eight years in that situation, and is now 50 $\frac{1}{2}$. a year the better for it, with the title of Dean.

General Lake is gone down to Wexford County to concert measures to crush the rebels. Our army there now amounts to 8000 men, and probably the Guards will be at Waterford this day or to-morrow. I suppose about Monday or Tuesday a stroke will be made. If they be well beaten, and made to know the force of Government, and that their heads are made examples of, we may hope for a prospect of peace in this country—I mean of such a peace as will enable us to pursue such measures as may hereafter secure us from repeated rebellions; but under the present laws and situation of this country we cannot be secure. Whether Lord Cornwallis is to new-model us I know not, but sure I am that it requires an able statesman as well as an able general to tranquillise this country permanently.

Yours ever,
J. BERESFORD.

Sir Andrew Hamond to Lord Auckland.

Navy Office, June 18th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—The news from Ireland to-day seems to bear a good complexion; and as none of the troops from hence had then arrived, I think we may augur well of our future expectations.

Nothing more is known of Bonaparte's destination. We are pretty certain that his first rendezvous given out was St. Fiorenzo, in Corsica, and that he was actually off Cape Corso the 28th. Lord St. Vincent had intelligence sent him* on the 28th April of the above rendezvous, and he actually sailed from Gibraltar, upwards, on the 26th of June, with sixteen sail of the line. The wind, we know at

* From Turin. — (Original Note.)

that time, was strong north-west, and a week or ten days would carry him to Corsica.

I have always had an idea that Malta was an object to the French, from the great consequence it would be of to them in giving them the command of the whole Mediterranean trade. Should they succeed there easily, then I am apt to think Alexandria would be the next step, in their way to still greater objects. However, as I speak without information, I ought to apologise for taking up so much of your time with my conjectures.

The captain* is off the Texel with Admiral Onslow. I have asked Lord Spencer to make him post, to which he turns a deaf ear for the present. I have told him that he is half a year older than his cousin, Sir Andrew Douglas, when I made him captain of the Roebuck.

My best respects to my lady, &c., and am, with sincere respect and regard, your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

A. S. HAMOND.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Tuesday noon, June 19th, 1798.

My dear Brother, — I have just received another packet from India, which I forward by my servant Basset. I enclose a letter from Mr. Smith to me, containing, as I suppose, the essence of India news. Though the mutiny be suppressed, yet, in these feverish times, it is impossible to be without uneasiness lest it should again break out, particularly as we know that there are many apostles of Jacobinism scattered over the India continent.

Here we have nothing new. At Rastadt the negotiation was stopped till the arrival of Jean Debry.†

* Now Sir Graham Eden Hamond.

† Three of the French plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Rastadt were murdered on April 28th, 1799, by some hussars: Jean Debry escaped.

At Court, nothing, as M. de Thugut says, has been done. The French require satisfaction for the affair of the 13th of April, and this Court absolutely refuse to grant it. M. de Cobenzel will, I am convinced, support his bastard to the utmost of his power.

In Switzerland the French are confirming their system of terror. M. de Thugut professes that a war is necessary, and even inevitable, before a solid peace can be attained; but still he dares not pronounce the word. I am convinced that he would be glad that it should be brought about by indirect means. As a proof of this, though he hesitates to advise the receiving of our fleet into the ports of the Emperor's dominions, as it would be an open breach of the treaty of Campo Formio, he recommends to the Court of Naples to receive it*, which of course would involve both that Court and the Emperor in a war, as his Imperial Majesty has recently contracted with the King of Naples a treaty of alliance; and M. de Thugut, in suggesting this advice to the Neapolitan Government, positively promised that the Emperor would support it to the fullest extent of his power. We are in hourly expectation of news from Naples, which must ascertain whether that Government will ratify its treaty with this Court, and inform us of the disposition of the King of Naples as to the receiving of our fleet, which must, ere this, be in the Mediterranean. May God send that it may intercept and beat Bonaparte! it would be almost a decisive blow. I yesterday gave in a note requiring the free admission for our ships into the Austrian ports, and that the Emperor should give such assurances at Naples as would enable that Government to pursue a similar conduct, and adding, that if my demand be not complied with, the fleet will immediately return to the ocean.

Whilst I am writing I receive yours of the 1st, for which I return you my best thanks. My shuddering

* This advice of M. Thugut was acted upon, and Nelson's fleet was received and victualled before the battle of the Nile. Lady Hamilton has claimed all the credit of it.

at Mr. Pitt's duel was great, and I cannot but think that he was positively to blame to account to a Mr. Tierney for words spoken in an official capacity, and which, moreover, appeared to me to be a fair inference.

General Stamford is returned to Berlin well satisfied with his reception, and impressed with the opinion that if the Court of Berlin will but stand forward to effectuate and secure the peace of the empire, his Imperial Majesty would further any views of the King of Prussia as to the point of indemnification; but these two points, he now thinks, should go *pari passu*, and not separately, as the Prussians think, who require (and were not opposed in it by Prince Repnin) that the point of indemnification should be first settled. The general received a very rich snuff-box from the Emperor. Thugut wished him to remain with Prince Frederick, which he refused, from his infirmities.

My boys are well. I have sent them a tour into the Alps, and lament that I cannot accompany them; but I am chained to my table, and I am heartily sick of it, but still would go on with pleasure if I saw any prospect of a happy issue; but all mankind, at least here on the continent, are rushing to their ruin. May I beg of you to keep the enclosed for the general post ten days by you, or Basset will get into a scrape? Excuse this scrawl, which is owing to an infirmity in my arm, and remember me affectionately to all my fair friends.

M. EDEN.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 20th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—I send the bulletin, which came out late last night. The news of the day is an express from General Lake, to say that Generals Dundas and Loftus, with a strong force in three columns, came in sight of the rebels on the evening of the

18th, strongly posted on a hill.* Finding that they could bring only one of their three columns in action against them that evening, they postponed their attack until the next day, after firing some cannon at them. Next day the rebels fell back towards Enniscorthy, which is just what is wished, as the plan is to drive them altogether, and attack them from all quarters. We had, before the arrival of the three regiments from Guernsey and Jersey, and the guards and regiments from Bideford, 12,500 men under Generals Johnston and Eustace at Ross, Dundas and Loftus at Tullow, and Needham at Arklow, and there is also a strong party at Duncannon; and as there are 4000 Guards, &c., at Passage, they may go to Duncannon, and so attack from thence. We shall hear by to-morrow evening, I trust, of a decisive victory.

The three regiments from Jersey and Guernsey have joined Johnston at Ross.

Thompson with six ships in the river of Waterford.

Dreadful conspiracies discovered at Waterford, Clonmel, Cork, and Kilkenny, by which universal massacre is prevented in these towns.

Lord Cornwallis just arrived. I am going up to see him sworn in. 5 o'clock P.M.

J. BERESFORD.

P.S. Send this and a bulletin to those whose letter I have received.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, June 22nd, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—I enclose the only bulletin for some days; by it you will see that the rebels are beaten everywhere. We have also private accounts, in great numbers, that there was a very considerable battle fought between the rebels and General Moore,

* Vinegar Hill.

commanding another column, in which there were a great many rebels killed, and the rest dispersed. This battle was between Foukes Mill and Taghmore.

The rebels sent proposals of submission to General Lake, which he refused to listen to, as they had not offered to give up their leaders.

Lord Cornwallis was sworn in on Wednesday, and is at present given up to military affairs. I shall see him in private to-morrow, when I go up with the abstracts.

I am very happy at the coming of your militia. I think it a great measure. Every one here acknowledges with strong expressions the decisive and speedy aid which Great Britain has given us; it has delighted the loyal, and totally discouraged the disaffected.

I send you a large pamphlet of a curious nature.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Archbishop of Cashel to Lord Auckland.

June 23rd, 1798.

My dear Lord,— Lest the printed bulletin should not reach me before the post goes out, I cannot avoid sending to you a short manuscript bulletin of the good news received this day from our different commanders in the county of Wexford.

Our troops took the town of Wexford on the 21st, after an engagement in which a great number of the rebels were killed. Prior to the taking of the town, the rebels proposed to evacuate it and lay down their arms, provided General Lake would insure their lives and properties. He answered that he would not treat with rebels in arms against their sovereign, but if the deluded multitude would lay down their arms, deliver up their leaders, and give satisfactory security for their return to allegiance to their King, he would save their lives. Otherwise he would use the force intrusted to him for their total destruction. Three of their

generals are taken, Keogh, Roche, and Hay, the latter of whom has been tried by a court-martial and hanged. The rebels have now retired into the Barony of Forth, from whence it is almost impossible they should escape, having the sea on three sides of them, and our troops on the fourth. We may therefore expect in a day or two to hear a good account of them. All accounts from the North are likewise most favourable.

I thank you for the Militia Bill, which I received this day under your cover.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

CHARLES CASHEL.

P.S. Lord Camden sailed this day, about 6 o'clock p.m., in the yacht for Parkgate with a fair wind.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, June 23rd, 1798.

My dear Auckland,— Just returned from shipping Lord Camden, with great honours — all the yeomen attended. The post going out, I have only time to say that General Moore's* news is true. He took Wexford, has saved it from being burned, and saved all the remaining prisoners : seventy-one having been murdered the morning before he came, and all the rest were to have been murdered that day. He has taken three, the general, and one of the Hays and one of the Roches. The rebels offered to lay down their arms on forgiveness; he refused to treat while they were in arms, or until they gave up their leaders. They have retired into the Barony of Forth, where they cannot escape : they must surrender.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

* Afterwards Sir John Moore.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 26th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—I send the bulletin of yesterday, which was too late for the post yesterday.

This day's news is a battle at Hacketstown, in which General Hunter was victorious, and has killed, as is said, a great many. I have heard that this is authentic.

The rebels are up at Fork Hill, four miles from Dundalk; but I understand that Colonel Campbell, to whom a separate command is given in Louth and Meath, is on his march from Belfast, at the head of 1000 men; and a regiment is gone from Drogheda also, so that they will be soon quieted. There is also a rising at Bangor, in the county of Down. We are to expect many of these risings. Whisky makes partial risings, and also love of plunder.

You will observe in the bulletin that the fellows against whom Asgill marched are the very fellows, or some of them, who made their escape over the bridge of Wexford, and who had that very day offered to lay down their arms and take the oaths of allegiance; now, what faith or dependence can be put in these people? The men whom Dundas pardoned went immediately to Wexford, where, when attacked by Moore, they again offered to give up their arms and become good subjects, as they had done before, and here you find them again in arms in three days or less. How are we to deal with such villains?

I do not write to Rose, knowing that you will communicate my letters to him, when there is any news in them, and I send a bulletin for him always to you.

What think you of the doctor's* pamphlet, which I send you? I think he keeps up well to his promise of good manners and moderation.—Yours sincerely,
J. BERESFORD.

* Doctor Dungenan.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 28th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,— No new event as yet this day. I have seen some affidavits and letters ascertaining various facts, of murders and cruelties horrid to relate. I wish to wait a little before I give entire credit to what I hear and read. It is certain that about seventy Protestants, mostly gentlemen, were butchered on the bridge of Wexford; they tied them to the rails on one side, and appointed twelve pikemen, who stood on the opposite side, set up a yell, and ran at them, pierced them with their pikes, and then threw them over the bridge, screeching and hooting and insulting them in the water, so long as they perceived any signs of life in them.

By the bye, Lord Cornwallis told me fairly that he did not mean to stay here longer than he could help, and said as much as that he was not afraid of the military part of the business. The final settlement to be made seemed to him, as it really is, a matter of very considerable difficulty and nicety. I often think, as do some others here, that this is a business which may fall to your lot, and on which I would have you to turn your mind.

We voted yesterday half a million for the extra expense of the military sent us, and 100,000*l.* for the immediate relief of the loyal sufferers, and we have 500,000*l.* more to vote, or perhaps 1,000,000*l.*, by way of vote of credit.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Wednesday, July 4th, 1798.

My dear Brother, — I mentioned to you some time ago that a treaty of defensive alliance had been con-

cluded between this Court and that of Naples. Besides the patent articles, which contained the ordinary stipulations, there were four secret ones, which confined the operation of the treaty to France and the new republics, its allies; and stated that the *casus fœderis* should be deemed to exist if the Emperor be attacked on the side of Germany, since hostilities on that side must be inevitably and immediately followed by hostilities in Italy. The Neapolitan Government objects to these stipulations, and has sent back the treaty in a new form, suppressing the secret articles, and confining the *casus fœderis* to an aggression in Italy. What the Empress's influence may effectuate I cannot determine; but M. de Thugut says, and very justly too, that in its new form the treaty would be exclusively to the advantage of Naples, since France will never be the aggressor on the side of Italy; and so meanly do I think of those who guide the counsels of the King of Naples, that I believe they would not scruple to show the treaty to France, if concluded in its new form, in order to deprecate the wrath of the Directory, who, of course, would take care to render its stipulations useless to this country.

An evasive answer has been given by the Court of Naples to our demand of a free admission for our ships into all the ports of his Sicilian Majesty's dominions, though they should have been encouraged to grant it by the arrival of our ships in their neighbourhood, by their treaty with this Court, and by the exhortations of this Government, which expressly promised to protect them from the consequences. I am now in expectation of an answer to a note which I gave in on the subject, the chief object of which was to obtain the above assurances to the Court of Naples; for, as to the ports of this country, they are too remote to be resorted to by our ships. M. de Thugut says that he feels much embarrassed, as a direct compliance with this part of my demand would be equivalent to a declaration of war against France, it being contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of Campo

burg of the contingent due to this country by treaty. Austria would strike whilst France is unprepared.

We have many flying reports of Bonaparte having taken Malta. God forbid that the intelligence should be true.

Mr. Canning to Lord Auckland.

Spring Gardens, Thursday, July 11th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — I received your note at the instant that, after three weeks' putting off, from week to week, and from day to day, I am stepping into my chaise to set out towards Derbyshire. I say *towards*, as I have Dropmore and Park Place to take in my way.

I shall, however, be in town again (as you may well imagine) by the first week in August; and, as I do not foresee much chance of a negotiation this summer, I hope I can promise myself the pleasure of visiting Eden Farm, in the course of the summer, more than once. I shall certainly make the attempt very soon after my return.

I will endeavour to find an hour of leisure, from the perfect idleness which I proposed to myself in Derbyshire, to add something to your packet for Lord Mornington.

I am glad you approve the poem. The bookseller, I find, is going to publish it separately; and he has desired me to look it over for him, and to make any corrections that may be necessary, and also to add notes explanatory and illustrative, which, as he is a very deserving man, and *assures me that the author of the poem is not less so*, I have undertaken to do, with the aid of Frere, during my absence from town.

If, therefore, anything should occur to you in the shape of note, comment, or exposition, particularly anything historical, relative to the French characters (to La Fayette, for example), or to any scoundrels or — of the same school, or anything which you think wants explaining in the new philosophy, in

order to be generally understood, you cannot do me a greater pleasure than by communicating it in a letter addressed to Ashbourne, Derbyshire. The title of the poem is to be "New Morality." Can you help me to a better, or to a good *alias*? I doubt whether I can take so great a liberty with the poem as to leave Louvet out, though I think a copious dissertation in the form of note, to explain (not the Spanish flies, &c., but) the general principles on which coarse diction, in the chastisement of coarse wickedness, is not excusable only, but in some degree necessary, must be subjoined, and, I should hope, may do away all offence, by evincing the real scope, and the purity of the author's intention. The same must be done about the Hymn to Lepaux, which, however, is parodied from Milton, not from the psalm.

You are quite right, I think, about the oak* and stream. Perhaps you may not recollect that this

* The "Oak and the Stream" has been traditionally ascribed to Pitt.

"So thine own oak, by some fair streamlet's side,
Waves its broad arms, and spreads its leafy pride;
Towers from the earth, and, rearing to the skies,
Its conscious strength the tempest's wrath defies:
Its ample branches shield the fowls of air,
To its cool shade the panting herds repair.
The treacherous current works its noiseless way,
The fibres loosen, and the roots decay;
Prostrate the beauteous ruin lies; and all
That shared its shelter perish in its fall."

In Letter VII. (Memoirs of Gray by Mason) is a poem by West, "*Ad Amicos*," which is partly imitated from an elegy of Tibullus, and partly from a letter of Pope to Steele. It contains the following passage:—

"Health is at best a vain precarious thing,
And fair-faced youth is ever on the wing.
'Tis like the stream beside whose watery bed
Some blooming plant exalts its flow'ry head.
Nursed by the wave the spreading branches rise,
Shade all the ground, and flourish to the skies;
The waves the while beneath in secret flow,
And undermine the hollow bank below;
Wide and more wide the waters urge their way,
Bare all the roots and on their fibres prey.
Too late the plant bewails his foolish pride,
And sinks untimely in the whelming tide."

There seems to be no such passage in Waller.

simile is doubly a theft (though dressed in different language, and applied to a different purpose from that to which it is applied in either of the originals): first, from some lines in Waller, which Mr. Pitt will be too happy to read or spout to you any day that you may see him; secondly, from some very pretty verses of West to Gray, published in Mason's collection of Gray's letters. I will not begin another sheet, though I have only just room to say adieu, and to wish myself a good journey.

G. CANNING.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin Castle, July 13th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I have not time to write much. We are in a trying situation. The rebels of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, who were in the mountains, interrupted a despatch of Handfield's; found they were likely to be cut off; went off from the Wicklow hills to the Bog of Allen, attacked Clonard, were defeated by fifty infantry and a few cavalry; and yesterday marched thence unperceived to Dunboyne, within six miles of Dublin, and are this day at Garretstown Hill. They are a tired mob—not 1500, and call themselves 15,000. They will yet do mischief before they are exterminated.

The trial of the Shears went off well: nothing failed; proof complete; great horror and execration expressed by the audience; no hesitation in the jury; one opinion in the public; execution to-morrow.

John Shears to-day made a speech to exculpate himself from cruelty. He said they only meant to put to death those who resisted.

I do not like changes in the midst of measures and operations. I believe they have affected the rebellion sadly.

In much hurry, most truly and obediently,

E. COOKE.

The Archbishop of Cashel to Lord Auckland.

Stephen's Green, July 24th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—Enclosed I send to you the trial of Messrs. Shears, this moment published. I conclude your Lordship will be glad to see, as soon as possible, an authentic account of a matter that has excited so much curiosity, and produced such fatal consequences already, and which will, I fear, continue to harass this country for a long time to come.

The trial of Oliver Bond, another of the principal conspirators, began yesterday morning about nine o'clock, and ended this morning about seven, when he was capitally convicted, and ordered for execution on Thursday next, the 26th instant. Thus the first five rebels who have been tried (viz. two Messrs. Shears, McCann, Byrne, and O. Bond) have all been capitally convicted.

Your account of Mr. Pitt's amendment has given me and his friends here very sincere pleasure. For some time past we have really been kept in painful suspense by very unpleasant reports concerning the state of his health. If it were possible for him to divest himself entirely of business for a month (which I fear it is not), to go to bed early, and rise very early, ride for an hour before breakfast, and for two hours again before dinner every day, and take some steel medicine, or such other as his physician may think more adapted to his case, I firmly believe he would find considerable benefit from such a course.

I wish I could say that the rebellion was at an end. But, alas! it has only changed its appearance. I fear the rebels are no longer in bodies of 16,000 or more; but they are divided into smaller parties, appearing from time to time in different places, harassing our troops, burning houses and villages, and massacring the Protestant inhabitants. How or when this will end I cannot say; but the time, I believe, is at a dis-

tance, and the mode must, I think, partake of severity as well as conciliation and pardon. Indiscriminate forgiveness will not cure the disorder, if I am not quite mistaken. But though I say this to *you*, I observe a strict silence on the subject here. For wishing (as I sincerely do) that all the measures of Government may succeed, I don't think myself at liberty to create even a doubt in any man's mind about their probable effects; and, therefore, whatever my opinion may be, since it is not called for by those who decide on such matters, I keep it to myself.

As fast as the other trials are published, I will forward them to you.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully and sincerely,
C. CASHEL.

P.S. Excuse the liberty I take in enclosing a copy of the trial to you, for our friend the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday, July 27th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — I am just going to Long's, from whence I shall go on to-morrow to Hollywood, to take leave of it till after my sea excursion. If you are at leisure you will be sure of finding me at either dinner to-morrow, or at the first* on Sunday, after which I shall go to Wimbledon, and start from there next morning.

In the mean time, our accounts from the Mediterranean (putting those of yesterday and to-day together) give us the certainty of Bonaparte's having sailed eastward from Malta on the 18th of June, and of Nelson having sailed from Naples towards Malta, through the Straits of Messina, on the 17th. It will be strange indeed if the fleets do not meet, or rather if one does not overtake the other.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Monday, July 30th.

My dear Lord,—I have been obliged to defer my journey till Wednesday, and am going in the course of to-day to Hollwood. If, after so long an absence, you can leave Eden Farm for a few hours, I should be very glad if you can dine with me to-morrow, and allow for a walk before and after dinner, for both of which the subjects you mention are sufficient.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

P.S. You probably have an account from Ireland of the full confession of the principal prisoners who have not been tried, *including the two O'Connors*.*

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, August 1st.

My dear Lord,—I was so dreadfully harassed by a cough for two months, that I was obliged, much against my inclination, to undertake an expedition to my farm in the county of Limerick, which has operated like magic, and very nearly set me fairly again on my legs. First, it will give you pleasure to know that the corn crops, in every part of the rebel district which I passed through, are uncommonly fine, and that, on my return to town, I found the common people everywhere returned to their ordinary occupations.

The conviction of Bond, at the special commission, will, I think, lead to the happiest consequences. On the day prior to that appointed for his execution, the state prisoners, with the exception of the two O'Connors and Mr. Sampson, sent a message to Lord Cornwallis, offering to give him material information, if Bond and Byrne, another traitor, were spared. This proposition was rejected, and Byrne was executed on that day.

* Roger and Arthur.

On the morning of the next day a new deputation was sent, in which the two O'Connors and Sampson joined, offering, on the part of all the state prisoners, forty-five in number, to submit to perpetual banishment, and to make full discovery of everything which they knew, particularly to give a full and detailed account of their correspondence with the French Directory, on the sole condition of sparing Bond's life. Such a proposal Lord Cornwallis did not hesitate to receive for consideration, and he respited Bond till the following Monday (yesterday).

On Saturday these worthy gentlemen desired that Lord Castlereagh would receive a deputation, composed of Mr. O'Connor, Emmet, and Doctor McNevin, to act for them all; and, on my return to town on that night, he begged of me to be present at the conference on the next day. The result of which was that the whole covey, Arthur O'Connor at their head, signed a paper, submitting to banishment for their lives, on condition of indemnity to themselves against capital punishment, and the like favour to their friend Bond, provided always that they should make a full and detailed disclosure of everything which they knew with respect to the conspiracy at home, and more particularly with respect to their correspondence with the Directory. Upon their signing this paper, a further respite was granted to Bond till Friday. Cooke, who conversed pretty much at large with the principal culprits amongst them yesterday, tells me that he has no reason to doubt the sincerity of their professions; and I agree in his opinion, more particularly as McNevin, who was one of their ambassadors to the Directory in the last summer, seems very apprehensive, and with some reason, that if he is brought to trial he stands a fair chance of being convicted. If these villains play fair, it seems to me that it will be the happiest issue to which we could have brought this business. We shall get rid of the leading and active members of the conspiracy, many of whom we could not have reached in any manner. We shall

also take away all confidence from them, or from any other villains who might be inclined to take their places; and, above all, we shall, I hope, destroy all confidence by the Directory in Irish treason, and cut off by that means all future communication between this country and France; and, if anything can effect it, we shall, I hope, shut the mouths of British traitors, who have taken such unwearied pains to disturb the peace of the empire. And yet the respite of Bond, although the grounds of it were very generally known, raised such a clamour as you, who know the country, would scarcely credit. I can't but wonder that our friend Foster, who was distinctly apprised of the last proposal made by the state prisoners, should have very strongly condemned the respite given to Bond.

I was fully aware that my expedition to the country would be represented as a proof of my having quarrelled with Lord Cornwallis, and therefore, although I never before moved an address, I desired that he would allow me to move that which was voted in answer to his message; and, in moving it, I certainly did so very fully explain my sentiments with respect to him, that, if they had been fairly reported, I do not think the Jacobin traitors could have ventured to publish the impudent falsehoods which appear daily in their columns. This day Lord Farnham gave me a fair opportunity, of which I availed myself, particularly in stating my opinion that the respite of Bond was an act of wisdom.

The fact is, that the more I know of Lord Cornwallis *, the more I feel inclined towards him. He is open and unreserved in all his communications, has a very good understanding, an excellent heart, and, what to me is a very strong recommendation of him, he forms his own opinions, and, unless he is satisfied that they are mistaken, has decision to act upon them.

* Lord Cornwallis, in a letter of July 26th, speaks thus of Lord Clare:—"The Chancellor, who, notwithstanding all that is said of him, is by far the most moderate and right-headed man amongst us."—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 371.

I fear that the levity of our countrymen teases him. I have no doubt, however, that he will find himself so well supported here, that he will very soon learn to despise it.

Pray read the letter which I send you: it reached me this day from Leeds, in Yorkshire, enclosing the "Courier" of Wednesday last. It had before been put into my hands, and, as I feel at present, I shall prosecute the worthies, who issue so much treason daily, for one paragraph contained in it. But surely my Yorkshire correspondent is right, that your Attorney-General ought not to suffer such a nuisance to exist. We have had decisive proof that Mr. Arthur O'Connor's paper, the "Press," published here, had no inconsiderable influence in promoting our rebellion. If you will undertake not to betray me to any person living, except to Lady Auckland, I will send you a pamphlet that will make you and her laugh. I do not know who the author is. And if, on reading the report of our late state trials, I find it worth your notice, I will send that to you also. If you can put me in a way of getting Mallet du Pan's periodical work, I shall thank you.

I hope Mr. Pitt's health is re-established. The infamous insinuation* in the "Courier" had reached this country more than a fortnight since; and, from the person who conveyed it to me, I have no doubt it came originally from Messrs. *Grey* and Co.

Yours always truly,

CLARE.

* Probably respecting the state of Mr. Pitt's health.

CHAP. XL.

Discussions between Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland with respect to Ireland. — Payment of the Roman Catholic Priests. — Mr. George Rose croaks about the Union. — The French in the Bay. — Hospitality of the Bishop of Killala. — Defeat of the French Expedition. — Disorganised State of Ireland. — The Battle of the Nile. — Arrival of Lord Clare in England. — His Consultations with Mr. Pitt. — Conference at Hollwood. — Mr. Pitt determines to bring the Measure forward unencumbered with Emancipation. — Tithe Plan for England. — Mr. Hatsell's Protestations against it. — The Income Tax. — Lenity of Lord Cornwallis. — New Coalition against France. — Prussia refuses to join it. — Letter of Lord Mornington. — Death of Charles Eden.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, August 1st, 1798.

My dear Beresford, — I returned on Monday night from a five days' excursion, with Lady Auckland and my daughters, to Windsor and its neighbourhood; and yesterday I passed the day quietly at Hollwood with Mr. Pitt, who set out this morning for Walmer. I trust that the sea air will do good to him; he is greatly recovered, but is much stricken in his constitution, and must be very attentive as to diet, exercise, hours, &c. His spirits are as good and his mind as active as ever.

We have many and long discussions as to Ireland. It seems hardly justifiable to return merely to the old system, varied only by the disarming of those who were wretchedly armed when the late insurrection broke out, and among whom there remains unchanged all the poison of Jacobinism, republicanism, and disaffection. Nothing will be done hastily: the subject must be considered much more deeply.

I am against changes, but it appears to me that the loyal Catholics ought to be distinguished, and that

the whole system of needy, and illiterate, and disaffected Papist priests ought to be put down, giving to the sect, not an establishment, but respectable and responsible men of their own persuasion, paid handsomely from the public purse.

Are you able to inform me, with respect to Irish tithes, what proportion of the whole you conceive to be paid by Protestants, what proportion by the more opulent planters, and what proportion by cottagers, potato grounds, &c.? Have you any guess as to the whole amount of the revenues of your Protestant Church?

I much fear that Mr. Pitt has mislaid the material notes which you sent to me of your revenues, debts, &c. Have you a copy of it?

I send you the enclosed, in which you will find amusement. By the bye, you make a figure in the latter pages of it.

Yours ever,
AUCKLAND.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Cuffnells, August 2nd, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I had a card from Sir Walter* for his dinner, and in my mind reproached him for the danger he was putting his patient† in. I am sincerely obliged to you for your accounts of the latter, who I think will do well with *care and attention*, but I am sure not without.

There can be no doubt of the importance of making some arrangement that would establish a good understanding between England and Ireland; but you know how strongly I am impressed with a persuasion that difficulties will meet us *in limine*, which no talents or industry can surmount. I wish to God I may be mistaken.

Miss Jennings and my son and daughter left us

* Sir Walter Farquhar.

† Mr. Pitt.

last Saturday, and reached Holly Grove on Sunday; they will, I am sure, be mortified at having missed you and your party.

Yours, my dear Lord, ever most sincerely,

GEORGE ROSE.

P.S. The account of the capture of Bonaparte, to which Beresford alludes, was given as *a good joke* by the captain of the Petrell to some respectable gentlemen at Plymouth, who wrote it to their friends, and in all this part of the kingdom it was believed as confidently as if a "Gazette Extraordinary" had been sent down.

I shall be in town on Tuesday, and will make you as early a visit as I can.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Old Palace Yard, August 11th, 1798.

I thank you, my dear Lord, for the perusal of the enclosed; it has afforded me much *real satisfaction*, as far as respects Lord Clare acting cordially with Lord Cornwallis; and I have no doubt but that on the whole their determination was the wisest that could be taken. I am, however, not without my apprehensions that such a cargo as five-and-forty active, bold, and clever miscreants may do much mischief in a country in amity with us — they will probably go to America. Foster's* ill-humour, I dare say, arose from not having been early enough consulted.

Ever yours, my dear Lord, very truly,

GEORGE ROSE.

Mr. Garlike† to Lord Auckland.

Berlin, August 12th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — Prince Repnin‡ returns to St. Petersburg in a day or two. Count Cobenzel sets out

* The Irish Speaker.

† Secretary of Legation at Berlin.

‡ The Russian envoy.

at the same time for the same place. It was hoped that the arrival of the last-named negotiator, coming from Campo Formio and Selz, with his experience of the French plenipotentiaries, and his conviction that a rupture between Austria and France is inevitable, would have been able to turn the scale at this place; but with all his means and earnestness, and the urgency of new and pressing events, the negotiation has been brought to a fruitless close; and no joint measure of any kind will take place for the purpose of withstanding the French; nor will Prussia come forward in any shape *till she is attacked by France*—an event which she confesses she does not think very distant.

It is possible that there may be some mode agreed on between the two powers, for indemnifying the Princes who have lost in the empire, by annuities raised on the whole of the ecclesiastical property in Germany. With this project for alleviating past grievances, the actual state of the empire is looked at with dismay, and its very existence thought precarious.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
my dear Lord, your most dutiful and obedient servant,

B. GARLIKE.

P.S. The Emperor of Russia* is coming forward. He has sixteen thousand men in readiness to act on the expected rupture, and he hopes *to find the means*† of becoming a principal in the war.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

None of my correspondents seem disposed to meddle with the question of a Union—that is, they are silent. I conceive that administration there is comatose, and I think it likely such may continue to be its character. I have subscribed to Mallet du Pan's "Mercure Britan-

* Paul was now very desirous that a coalition should be formed against France.

† From England.

nique:" he has proved himself a good writer. I have so bad an opinion of the state of Europe, not excluding this island, that I could almost think it desirable to be comatose; but, unfortunately, such is not my nature, and I feel great perturbation arising from inactivity. I hear Prussia is in an awkward state, and may possibly be the next republic, if not saved by an immediate change of measures.

I understand that Parliament may meet 25th October, beyond which time the present revenue will not last; but that is not always a sufficient reason. The country dreads the meeting of Parliament, saying it never does anything but levy taxes. I am told the assessed taxes will not produce, even with the voluntary contributions, more than half of what they were taken for. The decrease of the customs in the last quarter has been considerable, and they will rise, I suppose, again this quarter. I am seriously of opinion, with all those I meet, that the country will not bear further taxation. The fallacious pretence of raising the expenses of the war within the year must be given up. It is extremely unwise at this time to tax beyond what is necessary to pay the interest of money borrowed. Such a system of taxation, *aided by such a desperate and injudicious measure* as the sale of the land-tax* (one smiles to hear a trifling rise in the funds imputed to that measure), will sooner or later make the country desperate, and suggest the notion that it will not answer to pay the last farthing, through fear that the last farthing might be risked by a change. There is nothing to keep up the spirits of the people. It is plain that we shall lose, but cannot gain by the war. It is plain that we have no army out of England to occasion an expense beyond example. All this is unanswerable, and all that is said does not annoy me so much as the consideration that, however strong our wishes and disposition, we do not seem likely to get peace, almost on any terms, for which we cannot now

* Lord Auckland was a warm supporter of this measure.

and meat. For our losses we are all to have punctual payment from the Irish Directory, which is soon to set up in Connaught. You may judge what a time we had all last night, with half the females of the town in this house; and scarcely had a bed for the half of what remained here. Mrs. Stock and poor Mary were true heroines, intent only on accommodating the refugees and the children. They are as yet very well.

The story of this invasion, as I collect from their account, is as follows: Fifteen hundred men, most of the army of Italy, embarked on a dark night about eighteen days ago, at Rochelle, eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the English fleet, close beside them; fetched a long compass, and instead of landing in Donegal, as they wished, were unfortunately pushed by the winds upon us. Their naval force is two frigates of forty-four guns, 18-pounders, and one of thirty-eight (I think) 12-pounders. They bring nine pieces of cannon, and arms for 100,000 * men.

The people are invited to join their standard and be "free and happy." The green flag is mounted on the front of the Castle, inscribed Erin-na-bragh. I write this in the midst of interruptions and great drowsiness. This morning, after a hearty breakfast given to three hundred men *at my expense*, in a house which they have turned into a pigsty, forty horsemen were mounted on the best horses in the country, and began their march towards Ballina, seconded by sixty foot. What success they have had against the Fencibles and regulars of that town we yet know not; but we fear the worst, as the French report here that the town is taken with little loss. They have hitherto maintained a most exact discipline. Our greatest apprehensions of plunder, &c., are from our own peasantry, who as yet behave themselves excellently well. The second in command is a Monsieur Touza, who pleases me much by his politeness and good sense. He com-

* 3000.—Note by Lord Auckland.

plains heavily of the slavery he has undergone lately, worse than any endured in Italy when aide-de-camp to Bonaparte. The most alarming part of this story is, that they form only the vanguard of an army of 30,000 men, who are to leave France in small squadrons like the present, and, if they can elude our fleet, are to be here in a fortnight, carrying revolution and liberty to their dear friends in Ireland. They talk of proceeding from hence towards Sligo tomorrow, and will rid us of their company, as they say, "*if we take care to furnish them with provisions and carriages to mount their artillery.*" All the squadrons are to rendezvous off the coast of Antrim, thence push on to Dublin.

"*Sentez s'il palpite,*" as poor Louis XVI. said to the mob—my heart is in its place, though this mad French commander has more than once attempted to unfix it. I am just returned from being sent away under a guard towards the ships to take my passage to France, because I would not do what *he knew I could not do*,—press cars from the country-people to convey their artillery, and *produce them with horses after our horses had been all carried away.* After I had walked half a mile out of the town under a sergeant's guard, a horseman was sent to call us back. And now they bawl as loudly at me for not having thirty quarts of brandy to give them. Dear Arthur we hear nothing of yet. What a pool has a French grenadier's blood made in the parlour! he was wounded in an engagement with our cavalry at Ballina. Dr. Thomas Ellison bravely marched out with our infantry in the first battle when the two yeomen were killed, and is shot in the heel, which (to hide the wound from notice) he calls gout.

25th.—Yesterday was a day of sad confusion and utter *waste of my substance*, attended with intolerable slavery in interpreting and striving to obey orders next to impossible to be executed. I have lost to the amount of 500*l.* at least, with little hope of being able to get away to a place of safety. This

day I am going to be carried away by the French, as one of the six hostages for the safety of their officers and men, whom they are to leave here as a guard to the Protestants of the country against the Irish new levies, who, to the amount of many thousands, have joined the French, and are certainly dangerous in no small degree. *Allons!* I go cheerfully to save my friends, leaving my poor family in the hands of the Almighty. Harry goes with me. I am to have my own chaise.

Adieu, dear Stephen. Ever yours,

J. K.

Sunday morning, Aug. 26th.

They have changed their minds this morning, and left me to my parole, and have taken Edwin in place of Harry, to serve as interpreter. The main army is gone to Ballina, about 1400 French, with an uncounted number of Irish, to meet our army, which is said to be 3000 yeomen and regulars, as we are informed by a Captain Grey of the Carbineers, who came this morning with a flag of truce to Killala. They say we are very safe from the Irish, under the control of half a dozen officers and 200 Frenchmen. Our infantry, the yeomen that were taken on the first landing of the French, are marched off with the army as prisoners to Ballina. Of the first hostages, Edwin and Mr. Knox, of Bartrack, have got a cabriole to convey them to camp, belonging to the Rev. George Fortescue, of this diocese, who was wounded, I fear desperately, in an engagement at Ballina. The other hostages ride, who are our curate Nixon, Thomas Harwood, lieutenant of our cavalry, and James Rutledge, our custom-house officer. I should have told you that Arthur Stock returned to us yesterday, after forty-eight hours of danger by sea and land, and being in a skirmish between our cavalry and the French. I fear the yeomen will never stand without the help of regulars against these veterans. An action will take place soon, which will probably

settle the business. If the French are routed they must surrender, having no ships to carry them home, for the frigates are gone to France. Send this letter to North Great George Street, to be copied for perusal of your friends in and about Dublin; another copy should be sent to the Primate*, wherever he is. I run the chance of this coming to your hand by a Captain Hill, my registrar, who was dismissed at my request, and is to put my letter in the first safe office. My two poor women are well as could be expected, and all the children. We are not yet afraid of famine, as we take share with the French. Scarcely a drop of liquor remains to quench our thirst, wine, and even water, failing us. I am trying to get leave for Ellison and John Thompson to go to their houses.

Adieu, dear brother. Yours, &c.

J. K.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

Castle Howard, August 30th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — It appears to my ignorance that this is a moment when much is to be done; because a new conviction seems to pervade that country, viz., that their old Government is insufficient for their own safety and protection. From a sink of corruption, where all the faculties of the kingdom (and very quick ones too) were drawn from improving its condition, and strengthening that chain of general interests which might have prevented much of these mischiefs, we have seen a mine opened of the most dangerous sedition and rebellion. How to close the mouth of this for the present is one interesting question; how to destroy all approach to it for the future, is another. Dare you, in this agitated sea of public affairs, turn towards the bold expedient of Union? It seems the most unfit hour for any business that requires so much new thought and addition of labour, and yet it is per-

* Dr. Newcome.

haps the only hour that Ireland would be found practicable on the subject. If a more efficient Government were to be the immediate consequence of this attempt, the instantaneous remedy might be reached: the more slow eradication of the terrible evils might grow from a better direction of those talents I have before alluded to, and by the extinction of that incitement to eternal jobbing, the present and past system of Irish government. In short, we have been all much to blame—the English administration in a great degree; the people of consequence there more to answer for by their neglect of their interior. The absentees have been the cause of much calamity to the country. The extreme poverty of some of the lower orders—the tying them down to a condition of despair, rather than of hope, and thus making them ready to promote (from almost an indifference to life) the schemes of the most desperate and most wicked, have made the cup of private and public evil thus overflow. Something new must be attempted. I know no hand or head more equal to a bold experiment than Mr. Pitt's. Ireland in its present state will pull down England: she is a ship on fire, and must either be cast off or extinguished. The latter attempt requires knowledge and abilities like yours, and I hope they will be employed in the work.

If there is a lower political hell than any we before have witnessed, I think the opposition* have found it out for themselves, by their connection with O'Connor and such worthies. We shall hear next of their love and admiration of the French general just landed in Ireland.

Believe me to be, my dear Lord, ever yours most affectionately and sincerely,

CARLISLE.

* The opposition leaders had all come forward at Maidstone, to prove that Arthur O'Connor was a loyal subject, and that his principles were identical with their own.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Sept. 3rd, 1798

My dear Lord, — I send you two copies of our report, and will, by the post of to-morrow, send you some more. You will agree with me that it ought to be put into general circulation in England.

I took the hint which you gave me, and moved an address of the House of Lords to the Lord-Lieutenant to lay it before the King; and the Commons have followed our example. The examinations of the leading traitors are also much more full in our appendix than in that of the Commons, which has been, of course, sent to you. I would send a copy of our report directly to Mr. Pitt, but I know that one of those which I send to you will immediately find its way to him. I do not see a chance of adjourning our Parliament for more than a week to come. We must allow more than a fortnight for the return of bills before a prorogation, so that I have no possible chance of being allowed to quit Ireland before the latter end of this month or the beginning of the next. If Pitt wishes that I should then go over to England, he knows that I shall be at his command. The bill of attainder against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, after a most peevish and vexatious opposition, very much fomented by Lord Yelverton, in the Commons, has at length been sent up to us. It passed the committee this day; and his Lordship has announced his intention of opposing it on the report to-morrow. As I may probably very soon see you, I shall not say more on this subject.

What a country is this, that can be thrown into confusion by a force not exceeding at most fifteen hundred men, who have been thrown upon our coasts! Nothing can be more disgraceful and alarming than the conduct of two* militia regiments, who were opposed to them at Castlebar. If these villains had

* The Longford and Kilkenny; they were supposed to be disaffected Generals Lake and Hutchinson commanded.

stood their ground but ten minutes, the enemy would have been repulsed, as our artillery (all Irish) was most admirably served, and had made a sensible impression on the French line. Lord Cornwallis has marched a very great force against them, and, if they wait for him, means to attack them to-morrow morning.

Our last accounts are that they had not advanced beyond Castlebar; and, as our force exceeds 10,000 men, a great proportion of them British, there cannot be a doubt of the event, whenever Lord Cornwallis comes up with the enemy. I fear that the natives have flocked in crowds to the French standard; however, we have no symptoms of insurrection in any other district, and I understand that the savages who have joined the enemy are already sick of the experiment, as some of them have been already flogged, and some more hanged, by the French officers, who are equally sick of their Irish auxiliaries.

The explanation which you seek of the manuscript copy of the confessions by O'Connor and Company, you will find, I hope, very ample in our report and the appendix to it. Our bill for preventing the return of these villains into the King's dominions is so framed as to leave it very much to the conditions of their pardon, to be hereafter settled by the Crown, to secure the empire against it. If they shall violate the conditions of their pardon, they stand attainted; and much caution will be necessary hereafter in arranging this subject.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Cuffnells, Sept. 9th, 1798.

You will, I am sure, believe me when I tell you that all here are grieved at the pain and anxieties of your house for the sufferings of poor Charles*, by the

* Born in 1791 at the Hague.

distressing prospect you have respecting him. My mind is at all times capable of feeling for such distress keenly; it is not the less so for the accompanying account of Nelson having missed Bonaparte, the effect of which is much stronger upon me, for various reasons, than anything that has happened in the war. I am strongly inclined to believe, too, that the consequences will be worse than any former calamity in it. I pray to God that the sense of it may urge the country to still greater exertions, for we shall need them. It will be cruel and unjust if any one should blame a conspicuously brave and meritorious officer. We suffer from the interposition of Providence, who has some wise purpose in view inscrutable to us.

Many thanks to you for the enclosed papers.

Ever yours truly, my dear Lord,

GEORGE ROSE.

Archbishop of Cashel to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Sept. 10th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—A packet having sailed last night (Sunday), of which I was not apprised, I had not an opportunity of informing you that the French were defeated*, and had surrendered, and that of the rebels who had joined them many were killed (I hear about 500), some taken, and the rest dispersed. Enclosed I send to you the bulletin.

Lord Cornwallis is expected in Dublin on Wednesday. He is now at Pakenham Hall, Lord Longford's, where I hear he is employed in appointing quarters for his army in different parts of Ireland, to be prepared, I suppose, for a second visit from the French, should their ships escape the vigilance of our fleet, which we find is very possible.

I am, my dear Lord, yours sincerely,

CHARLES CASHEL.

* 96 officers and 746 men surrendered. The original force consisted only of 1100 men.

P.S. On Saturday evening last Lord Fitzwilliam arrived in this city, but I have not heard why. And yesterday evening (Sunday) he returned quite safe to you again.

Mr. Dundas to Lord Auckland.

Dunira Lodge, Sept. 13th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I received yours of the 5th, and return the enclosure. By an express I received yesterday from Sir Ralph Abercromby, I had the pleasing intelligence of the end of the French invasion of Ireland. I flatter myself there is an end of such attempts, and Mr. Jarry judged well in the prophecy he held out to you. Indeed, it was impossible ever to feel uneasiness upon that subject, unless they had been able to send very large reinforcements from France, or the country in general had joined their standard. The first was nearly impossible; and probably the late transactions in Ireland have intimidated even the worst disposed from the latter.

I wish the accounts from the Mediterranean had been as pleasing. I hope there was some good reason for Admiral Nelson leaving Alexandria after he had reached it, but, not being able to discover or guess what the reason was, I must be silent till better informed.

I agree with your Lordship that the Irish Government has left short the business of O'Connor's advertisement. The whole conduct of these traitors* is a piece of infamous cowardice, and their last conduct can be intended solely for the purpose of covering their friends in Great Britain; but it will fail in that end.

Lady Jane joins me in best wishes to all your family, and I remain, my dear Lord, yours very faithfully,

HENRY DUNDAS.

* Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Emmet, and MacNevin, on hearing of the landing of the French at Killala, had published an advertisement retracting their confessions.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Sept. 15th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—Lord Cornwallis, I believe, means to write by this night's mail for the necessary licence to enable me to go to England.* The House of Commons have sat till this day, and have sent up so many bills to this House, that I am pretty confident we shall not get through them all before the end of the next week. There must then be an adjournment, at the least for a fortnight, to give time for the return of the bills from England, so that I cannot have a chance of getting away from hence before the 8th or 10th of October. Another difficulty will occur, from the absence of all the judges on their circuits, which have been postponed on account of the disturbed state of the country. Three of them are always named in a commission for the custody of the seal.

Under these circumstances, I wish you much to ask Mr. Pitt whether he would have me go to London at the only time at which I can leave this country before the next term, or whether I might not better postpone it till December. I must return to Ireland before the 6th of November, if I am to go to England now, as the Court of Chancery has got into some confusion from the interruptions occasioned by the rebellion; and Mr. Pitt will consider whether it will best answer his purpose that I should go to London, to remain there only for a fortnight in October, or postpone the expedition till after Michaelmas term, when I shall have more time to command. He will, of course, understand that I am ready to attend his call whenever he makes it; and I am confident he will readily believe that I feel no small anxiety to contribute in any manner within my reach to the restoration of peace in this giddy and distracted country; and whatever personal accommodation it

* To confer with Mr. Pitt respecting the Union.

might be to me to remain quietly in the country for the remnant of the autumn, I am very ready to forego, if I can be of any use at London.

Yours always very truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Walmer Castle, Friday, Sept. 21st, 1798.

My dear Lord, — I had not time to write when I returned your letters yesterday. A letter, which I wrote to Lord Clare before I left Hollwood, will have reached him, and expressed my anxiety to see him. I will, however, write again, to say how material I think it that his coming should not be delayed.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

P.S. I think the "Rédacteur" may be credited for Nelson's victory much more than for the news from Egypt, in the message from the Directory.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Wednesday, Sept. 26th, 5.30 P.M.

My dear Lord, — I was brought back to town by business yesterday, and had this morning the satisfaction of learning, by a letter from Constantinople of the 22nd of August, that accounts were received the day before from the governor of Rhodes, stating that the captain of a French brig had arrived there, having left the English fleet engaged with the French, on the 31st July, near Aboukir. Our fleet had arrived that morning to attack them, and got into action towards evening; and when the brig escaped the Orient was in flames. This leaves little doubt of the Paris account being confirmed. Letters had also been received from the Pacha of Syria, dated 5th of August, speaking of Bonaparte as still entrenched be-

tween Rosetta and Cairo, not strong enough to advance, and harassed by the Arabs. Perhaps you have heard all this already. I must return to town to-morrow morning, setting out about eleven, and shall not be here again till Saturday.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollywood, Saturday, 5 P.M.

My dear Lord, — I send you a very delightful *Arabian* tale, to the merit of which, however, truth will be more material than to most compositions of that name. You will see that it cannot be wholly the production of our inventive friend Harward.*

Yours ever,
W. PITT.

P.S. The bearer is charged with three brace of birds, which I need not say are not of my own killing.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Oct. 4th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — I have desired the accounts from Ireland may be procured. The accounts of Bonaparte's situation and prospects, gathered from intercepted letters, are most satisfactory, and dispel all apprehensions on the side of India. I am returning to-day to Hollywood, to wait for the capture of the Brest squadron, of which we have as yet heard nothing. I find great doubts entertained about a thanksgiving† at St. Paul's, on grounds which I have submitted to the Archbishop.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

* Consul at Cuxhaven.

† For the victory of the Nile.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Thursday, Oct. 11th, 4 P.M.

My dear Lord, — I send this by the messenger in his way to town, merely to say that there is nothing new, and that I shall remain here till the account of Lord Clare's arrival calls me to town. I shall be happy to see you as soon as it suits you, and as the weather will allow. Mr. Fox, I see, announces the continuance of his *secession**, in terms which make it as near akin to rebellion as in its most classical use.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Monday, Oct. 15th.

My dear Lord, — I am just returning to Hollwood (as I hope for the week), and shall be very glad to see you to-morrow if it suits you, wishing much to state to you what occurs on my conferences here. Lord Clare is to dine at Hollwood on Friday.

Yours ever,
W. PITT.

Lord Clare's support of the Union was conditional. The Roman Catholics were to be excluded, and, by a letter in the Castlereagh Correspondence, it is certain that in the conferences Mr. Pitt convinced Lord Clare that he held similar opinions.

Lord Clare writes thus to Lord Castlereagh, Oct. 16th, 1798. After saying that he had found the ministry full of Popish projects, he continues: "I trust and hope I am not deceived that they are fairly inclined to give them up, and to bring the measure forward unencumbered with the doctrines of emancipation."

* At his anniversary.

"Lord Cornwallis has intimated his acquiescence on this point. Mr. Pitt is decided upon it, and I think he will keep his colleagues* steady."

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, Oct. 17th, 1798.

My dear Beresford, — I presume that you are returned from your northern expedition, and that these few and hasty lines will find you in Dublin.

I have not yet seen Lord Clare, but he is likely to be here to-night, to meet the Chancellor, who is passing three or four days with me; and on Friday we all go to Hollwood.

The opinions lead towards a union strictly Protestant, and on the principle of not changing the constitution of either kingdom in Church or State. Mr. Pitt is very desirous to send you a summons to come over for a few conferences, but I wish to postpone his decision on that point till I can see Lord Clare, and learn how far it would be convenient or practicable. Mr. Pitt conveyed an intimation to Mr. Foster† that it will be also necessary for him to come. Take no notice of this till it is publicly known. It is a consideration of great difficulty in the arrangement, of greater difficulty in the execution, and, after all, precarious in its consequences; but when the opinions are properly formed for the best, they must be followed up. You shall hear again in a day or two.

It would be of use, in the mean time, if you would order and methodise statements of revenue in war and peace establishments, &c., debt and interest, &c., comparative duties on principal articles in the two countries, particularly on articles of consumption; for the old bone of contention as to countervailing duties must come forward.

We have a magnificent revenue for the year ending

* The Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Dundas, and Windham.

† The Irish Speaker.

10th October—above 23,000,000*l.* nett, of which, 14,100,000*l.* are the old permanent taxes.

Yours sincerely and affectionately,
AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Sunday, Oct. 21st, 7.45 A.M.

My dear Lord,—I have found on waking an account from Sir J. Warren, which reached the Admiralty last night, dated Lough Swilly, Oct. 16th. On the 11th he discovered the enemy, and came up with them on the next morning. The action commenced at half-past seven. At eleven the Hoche* sank. The frigates then made sail, but were pursued and three taken in the chase; another has since been brought into Lough Swilly by the Melampus; and Sir J. Warren adds that he thinks the remainder too much damaged to reach a French port. The enemy's force consisted of the Hoche and eight frigates (which all fought well); ours of the Canada, the Robust, Foudroyant, Magnanime, Ethalien, Melampus, Amelia.

The Anson having been dismasted joined in the latter part of the action. The weather was very boisterous.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

P.S. The ships are said to be full of troops, stores, and everything necessary. They threw their papers overboard.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, 2.15.

My dear Lord,—I shall be happy to see you at dinner, if Sir Walter arrives; and, if not, to-morrow morning. In the mean time I am staking out my new road with Mr. Repton.

* Wolfe Tone was on board the Hoche.

The account of the three frigates probably either is or will be true in substance.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Briar Place, Wednesday, 24th.

My dear Lord,—Our bishops and clergy are very much alarmed here at a report that Government are going to propose a commutation for tithes; and they quote the high authority of Mr. Rose himself, and of a son of his, who is at Tunbridge, that a plan is now before administration for taking away the present mode of providing for the clergy, and converting it into stock, giving the security of the public; to which Mr. Rose added, "That *this* is of so much importance, that the redemption of your land-tax* was meant as a prelude, and only with a view of trying the ground." Notwithstanding the authority, I cannot believe it to be true; for, if such a measure was to be *compulsory* (and, whether compulsory or voluntary, it must comprise tithes in the hands of *laymen* as well as of the clergy), there can be no reason why, if the public take a liking to them, they should not take away the lands and property of every other description, on the plea that the State can make more of them than the individual owner does. This is true Jacobinical argument, and leads to all the other French principles. If it is to be *optional*, it would never be consented to by the bishops, or those who have at heart the real interest of an Established Church; and, therefore, *if* the report is true, the plan must be conceived either by persons wishing ill to the Establishment, or (which is more probable) by persons who are perfectly indifferent to all establish-

* This seems to have been the case. Lord Auckland had written to Mr. Beresford, April 15th, 1798:—"Oh that it were possible to do something similar as to the liberation of tithes in both kingdoms! But the clergy would be alarmed."

ments, churches, or religions. I should not have given you or myself so much trouble, but for the *great authority* on which the report is said (and I believe truly) to depend.

With regard to *estates** and *professions*, there still seems to me an equitable claim for a lesser payment on the part of the latter. It is true, it is said, "that it is meant to take an *equal* proportion from every man's *income*, so that there may be an equal *privation* to all from their respective means, for the expenses, necessities, and luxuries," &c. But ought not the person who provides that income by his labour or ingenuity, by a long servitude and comprehensive education, to stand fairer with the public and to be more indulged than one who only inherits what he possesses from his ancestors, without labour, without ingenuity, without education? Suppose two men of 1000*l.* per annum each, one receiving it from land or the stocks, the other from his profession, as a lawyer, a clergyman, or a physician, a soldier, or a sailor; each of these spends only 800*l.* per annum, and lays up 200*l.*; each have children. Government calls for one-fifth of *every* man's income. This swallows up your 200*l.* surplus. At the end of five years, or any given period, they both die. The landed man leaves to his children 1000*l.* per annum amongst them; the professional man, though assiduous, ingenious, and diligent, leaves his children *beggars*! It is not to be answered to this, that then the professional man should have spent less than 800*l.* per annum; for this argument itself proves that the *privation* brought on by these taxes is not equal, though the demand is of the same sum of money. In addition to this, is it no consideration, when the State is obliged to impose burdens, that the tax should not discourage industry, or genius, or speculation; but, on the contrary, that every man, in the same proportion that he is laborious or ingenious, shall contribute in a greater proportion,

* Lord Auckland was engaged in drawing up the Income Tax Bill.

out of the produce of that industry, to the wants of the public? This *can never be so*. When I hear Mr. Pitt's thoughts on the subject, I probably shall, as I said yesterday, think differently; but my present capacity does not enable me to make these two situations so much the same as not to be of opinion that the professional man, as far as his income arises out of that profession, is not only equitably but justly entitled to pay a smaller proportion to the public burden than the landed or funded man. I have written this before I read the heads of the bill, on purpose to give you my own thoughts (absurd as they may hereafter appear to be) without being at all influenced by what I may read there.

I had written this on Tuesday, to-day, but dated it *Wednesday*, as not intending to send it till to-morrow. Having, however, said all I have to say on this subject, and the post not being gone out, and my head being full of another subject (a dispute with Sir Charles Middleton* and the Bishop of London†), about the profits to be made by farming, I shall send it this day, Tuesday, 23rd October, 1798.

Yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Thursday, Oct. 25th, 5 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I return to Hollwood, either to dinner to-morrow or in the evening, and have promised to go on Saturday for a couple of days to the Speaker's. I shall not set out till between eleven and twelve, and, if it is a tempting morning, shall be very glad to see you before that time, in case you are relieved from your fresh anxiety to leave home. I was grieved to hear from the Archbishop to-day the account he had had from you. You probably have received our Vienna news of the destruction of the

* Afterwards Lord Barham.

† Dr. Porteus.

transports at Alexandria, and the account from Naples that the French garrison had offered to capitulate, but that the insurgents had refused to admit any terms. Both seem to be entitled to credit.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Friday.

My dear Lord,—I return the papers, and am much inclined to believe the Liverpool news. You will be sure to find me to-morrow, if (as I trust will be the case) you are enough at ease to leave home. I hope this rainy day will have enabled me to show you a convincing statement on the tithe plan, as well as a corrected edition of the Act for Contribution.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday, Nov. 2nd.

My dear Lord,—I am returning to-day to Wimbledon, but shall be at Hollwood to-morrow between one and two, and shall stay there Sunday and most of Monday. Beresford, I find, is coming immediately. I have written again to the Speaker *, only pressing him in general terms to come over, and entering into no discussion.

We have accounts to-day of some more frigates (probably three or four) off Kilcullen, with troops, but which, in twenty-four hours, had made no attempt to land. Sir J. Warren being at Lough Swilly, and Captain Horne somewhere between Donegal and Cape Clear, we have a fair chance of a good account of them.

* Mr. Foster.

In the mean time the *Sirius* has taken the two Dutch frigates. Ever yours,

W. PITT.

P.S. Many thanks for your packet on Contribution.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Nov. 15th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—Doctor Rennell had sent me his sermon before I left London, so that I was enabled to forward your despatch to the primate immediately after I received it. He is now in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where, much to his reproach, he has lived almost without intermission since his promotion to the see of Armagh. With a very meek and sanctified appearance, he pays less attention to the duties of his station than any man I know, and I detected him in as scandalous a job committed for a near relation as could well be executed. I send you the pamphlet which I promised you. I am glad to find that you approve particularly of “Rennell’s Allusions to Ireland,” as you will see everything which he has stated on that subject anticipated by me in 1793. I think, too, you will approve of our friend Foster on the same subject.

The Archbishop of Cashel goes to England in a few days. You will find him much disinclined to the measure of a union; but on this or any other subject he may be easily tamed by Lord Mendip. I do not find that Lord Cornwallis has as yet communicated with a single gentleman of the country upon any subject. Foster will tell you what passed when he took leave on his departure for England. This course will never carry him through any important business. His lecture to Lord Enniskillen seems now forgotten in the tame submission of his Lordship to it. We had got into a little scrape by bringing up Mr. Tone for trial to Dublin by a court-martial, sitting by the side of the Court of King’s Bench. We shall probably get out of it by the death

of Mr. Tone, who was suffered to cut his throat on the day appointed for his execution; and if the vagabond should not die of his wound, we may get out of it, if his Majesty's Attorney-General will act as he has been advised to proceed. I cannot tell you what I feel for my friend Lord Abercorn. He has much worth at bottom, and, knowing him well, I have a strong affection for him.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday night, Nov. 16th.

My dear Lord, — I have found so many things to do in town, that I give up the idea of returning to Hollwood this week. I therefore return you the letters you have been so good to send me. On that of the Archbishop* I wish much to converse with you. I trust his apprehensions will abate on further consideration of the subject. I have seen Foster twice, and find him extremely disposed to justify what Cooke says of him. There is nothing yet from the continent.

Yours ever affectionately,

W. PITT.

Lord Mornington to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Fort William, Nov. 19th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — I return you many thanks for your very able and entertaining letter of the 22nd of April, and for the papers which accompanied it. I also request you to accept my acknowledgments for your kind note of the 24th of April, and for the "Anti-Jacobin," which has amused me extremely. India cannot furnish an adequate return to your letters and packets; and, if it could, you know too well what the office of Governor-General is, to complain of the

* Probably the Archbishop of Canterbury had heard of the intended tithe plan of the Government. It was never brought forward.

brevity of his letters. However, I have enclosed an extract from my letter to the Court of Directors, and a return of the *late* French army at Hyderabad, which will give you some idea of the state of affairs in this quarter, and of the nature of my proceedings. The picture will be filled up by such information as you will obtain from Dundas; and, as the whole will only present myself in different points of view, I think I may as well leave the work to some other hand than my own.

On the 18th of October we learnt the destination of the Toulon fleet and army to be towards India. Although I certainly did not expect that the French would attempt the route by Egypt, I have been convinced for a long time that their views were turned this way; and, accordingly (thank God), I took my precautions as early as the month of June. We can now defy them; and I trust you will be of opinion that the blow which I have struck at Hyderabad was not unseasonable: it took place on the 22nd of October; and the intelligence reached me nearly at the same moment with the glorious news of the victory at Bequir. Our accounts of the state of Bonaparte's army leave little doubt of its final destruction — instead of "*Delenda Carthago*," he must now say,

"Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos."^{*}

I cannot help thinking that this event will prove the signal of a general revolt in Europe, and the source of peace and security to the whole globe.

Let me express my gratitude, my dear Lord, for your kind attentions to Lady Mornington and to my children; such acts of friendship are of redoubled value at this dreadful distance.

My health is, and has uniformly been, much better than it usually was in England, and the pressure and variety of business has been useful to my spirits; but Lady Mornington must come out to me, if she can.

* Horace, Ode iv. l. 70.

I am happy to hear that you are *formally* in office; you have been so *efficiently* for a long time. Pray remember me most cordially to Lady Auckland and all your amiable family; I hope they are all *re-maaaarkably* well in every respect whatsoever.

If any man can quiet Ireland, Lord Cornwallis will effect that great work. I trust you will now force a union. It is difficult; but in these days difficulties are our daily food, and, for one, I find that I thrive upon it.

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever your obliged and faithful servant,

MORNINGTON.

P.S. I hope you will continue to let me know how your quarter of the globe is managed.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Nov. 26th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I very much fear that Lord Cornwallis's reserve will not tend much to what I am very confident is his object. He seems to be impressed with an opinion that the minds of gentlemen, with whom he must act in his Government, are so heated and warped by passion and prejudice, that their opinions are not the safest by which we can act; and, therefore, his determination is made to act solely from himself. I fear also that he much mistakes the nature of the people, in supposing that they are to be brought back to submission by a system nearly of indiscriminate impunity for the most enormous offences. Holt, the rebel leader of Wicklow, has been suffered to capitulate, and is now a state prisoner at Dublin Castle. I am pretty confident, under an implied engagement, that his life will be spared. His second in command, Hackett, was fortunately shot a few nights since, in a midnight attack made by his banditti on a gentleman's house. A man of the name of Garret Byrne, who was the prime mover of the rebellion in the county of Wicklow, has been liberated on bail. All this has occasioned a very angry and

peevish sensation, where it will be mischievous in the extreme, and, I fear, has operated powerfully as an encouragement to our rebels to put themselves once more into motion. Lord Hertford tells me that, whilst the enemy was off our coast, a meeting of more than seventy delegates was held near Saintfield, in the county of Down. James Stewart, of the county of Tyrone, writes from thence, that committees are beginning to reassemble; and, in the county of Kildare, some trees have been cut, apparently for pike-staffs. The truth is, that nothing will put a stop to outrage and rebellion in Ireland but a severe lesson to the people, by which they are to feel that the consequences will necessarily be extremely unpleasant to them. If you can borrow Colonel Tarleton's "History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781," I wish you would read some observations of his (page 90*, second edition) on the conciliatory system adopted in America. Nothing could be so preposterous as the whole proceeding with respect to Tone†: he should certainly have been hanged on the shore where he landed.

* Extract from General Tarleton's "History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781:" —

"Lord Cornwallis attempted to conciliate the minds of the wavering and unsteady by promises and employments: he endeavoured so to conduct himself as to give offence to no party, and the consequence was that he was able entirely to please none. He carried his lenity so far, that violent enemies, who had given paroles for their peaceable behaviour, availed themselves of the proclamation of the 3rd of June, and without examination took out certificates as good citizens, which conduct opened a door to some designing and insidious Americans, who secretly and totally destroyed the British interest in South Carolina. The army was governed with peculiar discipline; and notwithstanding the exultation of victory, care was taken to give as little offence as possible in Charlestown and the country to the jealousy of the vanquished. This moderation produced not the intended effect. It did not reconcile the enemies, but it discouraged the friends. Upon their return home, they compared their past with their enemies' present situation: they reflected on their own losses and sufferings, and they enumerated the recent and general acts of rigour exercised upon them and their associates by all the civil officers employed under Congress, for their attachment to Great Britain. The policy therefore adopted upon this occasion, without gaining new, disgusted the old adherents; and the future time will discover, that lenity and generosity did not experience in America the merited returns of gratitude and affection."

† Tone committed suicide.

By a note which I have had from Hobart*, I find Foster is impracticable, and that Parnell now joins with him. If this should continue to be the case, and nothing effectual is done here to counteract it, I fear we shall have great difficulties to encounter.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

P.S. You have heard, I suppose, that Tone is dead.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street.

My dear Lord,—If it suits you to take your breakfast here either to-morrow or Saturday, I shall be happy to see you, and hope to be up in time for you. I shall hardly get to Hollwood this week. The newspapers will have given you a very imperfect idea of a speech of Canning's yesterday.† If you have heard of it through any other channel, you will, I am sure, have learned that it was one of the best ever heard on any occasion.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

* Lord Hobart, born 1760, married, 1792, the widow of Thomas Adderly, Esq., who died in 1796. Lord Hobart, who had been Irish Secretary from 1789 to 1793, had just arrived from Madras, and was now engaged with Lord Auckland in arranging the details of the Union.

† On Mr. Tierney's motion respecting peace with France, made on the 11th of December. In this speech there was a most felicitous allusion to the battle of the Nile, and to the previous pursuit of Bonaparte by Nelson:—"Let us recollect the days and months of anxiety which we passed before the intelligence of that memorable event had reached us. It was an anxiety not of apprehension, but of impatience. Our prayers were put up, not for success, but for an opportunity of deserving it. We asked, not that Nelson should conquer Bonaparte, but that Bonaparte should not have the triumph of deceiving and escaping him; not that we might gain the battle, but that we might find the enemy; for the rest we had nothing to fear.

"Concurrant pariter cum ratibus rates,
Spectent Numina Ponti, et
Palmam qui meruit ferat."

"Palmam qui meruit ferat" was selected as Nelson's motto when created a Baron. In Nelson's Life, it is said that it was suggested by Lord Grenville.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday, 6 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I have suffered myself to be seduced into dining in town to-morrow and Sunday, and shall, therefore, probably not visit Hollwood till next week, unless either to-morrow or next day should prove a fine morning. In that case I shall be tempted to go for a few hours, so as to get there about eleven, and stay till between two and three. If the sun shines, perhaps I may have a chance of meeting you. I have sent you, under another cover, a printed copy of the heads of our bill*, for which everything promises admirably.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Mount Shannon, December 23rd, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I do very sincerely lament the domestic calamity† which Lady Auckland and you have experienced. From sad conviction I can say, that when the blow has been struck it is less painful than the daily and inevitable approaches to it which we are condemned to witness. I had the misfortune to lose a child on whom I doated, after a painful and lingering complaint which hung upon her two years. If it had lasted as much longer, I am satisfied it would have broken my heart.

I have been settled at my farm here for a week, and hope to be allowed to remain here nearly to the meeting of our Parliament. Cooke tells me that there are very bad symptoms of disturbance in the counties of Down, Antrim, Kildare, and Tipperary. As to Tipperary, I can vouch for the authenticity of his information. The truth is, that every incurable rebel in the

* The Income Tax Bill.

† Lord Auckland's son died on December 17th.

country has been enlarged, either by private entreaty, by capitulation, or by a summary military authority ; and if the same preposterous system is pursued, we shall inevitably have the battle to fight again.

By a letter from Lord Castlereagh I find that Pitt is inclined to submit the details of a Union, in the first instance, to the two Houses of Parliament. I fear this mode of proceeding will involve us in great difficulty and embarrassment in the House of Commons, where, most certainly, there is no man who will be a match for Foster, if he chooses to persist in strong opposition to the measure.

Yours always truly, my Lord,
CLARE.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

Castle Howard, December 30th.

My dear Lord, — You would have heard from me on a late domestic misfortune, had I entertained the conceit of saying anything consolatory which has not been ineffectually said in similar distressful conditions. The attention of an old friend, either in prosperity or adversity, in gladness or in sorrow, cannot be a matter of indifference, and in that view I cannot help expressing my best hopes that you and Lady Auckland are as well as possible under a severe load of affliction, the weight of which no one knows more feelingly the difficulty of enduring than myself.

Believe me to be, my dear Lord, ever yours most sincerely, &c.,

CARLISLE.

CHAP. XLI.

Mr. Pitt's Idea of "Luxury."—The Union Debate in the Irish Parliament.—Mr. Cooke attributes the unfortunate Result to Lord Cornwallis's Management.—Mr. Pitt's Determination to persevere.—The Great Speech.—New Coalition against France.—"Memory" Woodfall and a Refractory Member.—The Debate in the House of Lords on the Union.—Lord Auckland on Catholic Emancipation.—Eleanor Eden's Marriage.—Mr. Pitt's Letter of Congratulation.—Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool.—The King prevents a Job.—Expedition to Holland.—Fall of Mantua.—The Primate of Ireland.—Mr. Pitt and Dr. Vincent.—Lord Auckland advises Mr. Pitt to patronise Literature and to go to Church.—*Nolo Episcopari*.

THE proposal of Union met with great opposition in Ireland, but the address in its favour was easily carried in the House of Lords, through the influence of Lord Clare.

In the House of Commons it met with a different fate, principally owing to the exertions of the Speaker, Mr. Foster, who, by the bad management of Lord Cornwallis, had been made an irreconcilable enemy of the project.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Jan. 6th, 1799.

My dear Lord, — I think the ferment against Union does not subside in Dublin. We have yielded to the torrent in city and county. We expect something good from Cork. Lord Charlemont is agitating Armagh. Louth is to have a meeting, and, I hear, Fortescue goes against Lord Clermont. The young men and foxhunters are against union.

Our numbers are not decided, but they seem favourable. We ought to secure near two hundred.

I do not yet hear of a junction between the United Irishmen and Anti-Unionists.

The Catholics are on the watch. They argue that unless they are considered the empire cannot be united; that the Catholics being the excluded caste will ever be discontented; that they will be called the Irish; that they will still have a distinct interest. There is force in all this, and the argument will be used to puzzle and confound, even by those who are not friends to the Catholics.

Our apprehension of a serious rising decays, but murders and robberies continue.

Neither the Speaker nor Parnell is arrived.

We hear Lord Leitrim is at Margate. He has not written in answer to letters sent to him. His son, Lord Clements, is, we hear, adverse.

I hope all the Londoners will come over. Most truly your Lordship's servant,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Wednesday, January, 5.30 p.m.

My dear Lord,—I hope to dine at Hollywood to-morrow, and to stay there till towards twelve on Saturday, when I shall probably go to Dropmore for a day or two. I shall be happy to see you either Friday or Saturday morning, as it suits you best. I shall be very glad to see a correct statement of your speech*, and, from all I hear of it, have no doubt that I shall be much inclined to urge its early and separate publication. I grieve at the accounts from Naples† (even allowing for French exaggeration), and cannot think of Austria with patience.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

* In favour of the income-tax, on the 8th January.

† The French had defeated Mack and were marching on Naples. Mr. Pitt was annoyed because Austria, now at peace with France, did not send assistance to the King of Naples, who retired to Sicily on the 14th of January.

P.S. I am just going to have the luxury of dining with some of our countrymen (that are to be) from Ireland, at Burlington House.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

(Secret.)

Dublin Castle, Jan. 15th, 1799.

My dear Lord,—I have some reason to believe that your managers in London have been a little awkward. If you had kept the Speaker to real business when he came, you might have turned him to some account, at least made him neutral; but you let him be idle, which is not his fashion.

Parnell * has this day declared off in a handsome manner. I had much confidential communication with him. He says he could not take a forward part if he did not suffer himself to be considered as an adviser of the measure, and that his judgment is against it as very dangerous and not necessary, and that a measure of the greatest danger can only be justified by necessity.

He is, of course, not to continue in office. I believe Corry † must succeed, though I do not think his calibre sufficient. He is, however, almost the only person who has looked to the office, and he is most hearty in the cause, and has much personal boldness and good fluency.

I think there will be little or no battle in the Lords. In the Commons, Greek to Greek, there is the tug of war. If Lord Ely ‡ and Lord Downshire ‡ are stout, we should do. If they are hesitating and adverse, matters may be difficult.

The Catholics keep aloof, but apparently friendly. My politics are to admit them after a Union. If Mr. Pitt would undertake that, and we could reconcile it with friends here, we might be sure of the point.

* Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† M.P. for Newry.

‡ Lords Ely and Downshire returned eighteen members.

In the House of Lords, the debate was carried on with perfect decorum ; and, on a division, the numbers were fifty-two to sixteen in favour of the address. In the Commons it was carried by a majority of one only ; and, as I have been informed, the scene was the most disgusting that has ever been exhibited, even on that theatre of madness and infatuation. Nothing could equal the furious intemperance of the opposition ; and, as I have been well informed, it was rather encouraged by the Speaker during the whole of the debate. His partiality was gross and glaring in the chair, and certainly he has left nothing untried to inflame the populace. An order was issued by the mob for a general illumination this night, which I ventured to disobey. In consequence, my windows have been shattered, but my servants fired upon the assailants, and have, I hope, winged some of them. My next-door neighbours on either side, Lord Ely and Lord Glentworth, have not been so stout. In fact, mine, I believe, has been the only house in the street which has not been lighted. The former of these noble lords skulked behind the throne on the division in our House. Lord Glentworth acted very fairly and boldly there. Would you believe, however, that I saw the Post Office illuminated from the garrets to the cellars, at six o'clock this evening?

The truth is, my dear Lord, that, with the best intentions, Lord Cornwallis has utterly mistaken the situation of this country, and the means by which it is to be governed. The Speaker's resources in intrigue and cabal are inexhaustible, and he seems determined to put them all into full exertion now. I trust and believe that the sober discretion and magnanimity of Great Britain will avert from us what I feel we well deserve* from her. I have but one apology to make for "my wild countrymen," that they have been led on step by step to their present state of madness, and that much of it is to be imputed

* The abandonment of the Union.

to the faction of some worthy gentlemen, and to the mistake of others, in Great Britain.

Yours always very truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

P.S. Many thanks for your speech on the Income Bill, which I have read with great pleasure. The tables at the end of it are highly satisfactory and consolatory. I read Canning's speech with much satisfaction.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

(Most secret.)

Dublin, Jan. 25th, 1799.

My dear Lord, — We were beat last night — 109 to 104. The fact is, that Parliament was really satisfied with Lord Castlereagh's declaration that a Union should not be pressed at present; but the Ponsonbys wished to keep opposition together, and therefore Sir L. Parsons* was set forward to oppose the paragraph in the address relating to Union, and to have it expunged.

We had some friends ill; others retired; many never appeared. Ponsonby moved, at the close of the debate, a motion to commit the House with his party — the country gentlemen resisted, and said they would support Government as usual.

We shall not have a formal or dangerous opposition on common points of government.

Measures will of course be brought forward to prevent the necessity of Union, if Government do not bring them forward.

Tithes, — Catholics, — trades, — regency, — possibly contribution; possibly a settlement as to war and peace will be proposed, — possibly reform; but nothing hostilely, yet all insidiously.

The country gentlemen will do anything to preserve their consequence, and the same feeling is among

* Afterwards Lord Rosse.

borough-mongers, and Dublin hostility is natural and must be permanent.

I told you the measure might have been carried if properly managed ; but I was disappointed. Will it not be fair for me to ask that I may be allowed to change my situation into England ? I am disgusted here : I feel that everything with respect to this country is managed by the English ministry with so much ignorance and so contrary to the representations of those who are acquainted with Irish subjects, that I am perfectly sick. Had any common sense been observed in this measure, or had common suggestions been attended to, the present measure would have succeeded.

I think we are again at sea ; and I have no opinion. We had a strong Government, we have now a weak one ; and though we shall rub on, it will be with no great credit or effort. The lawyers have been moving impudent resolutions in support of Fitzgerald.*

This night the city is illuminated a second time. In the mean time banditti are plundering in the neighbouring counties, and the people in several districts swearing and arming. I refer you to my letters.

Ever most truly and faithfully

E. COOKE.

P.S. There has been some cabal of some Catholics to unite with Protestants against a Union.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

(Secret, and most secret.)

My dear Lord,—I wrote in a passion last night, and retain the same sentiments in my cool moments. I much fear an Anti-Union party. It was proposed by Union to settle Catholics, tithes, regency, contribution, channel trade, Catholic and Dissenting clergy,

* The Prime Serjeant, who had been dismissed.

—Government will be called on to settle these questions without Union, and their refusal or indifference will be construed into a determination of persevering in the Union question.

The part to act will be difficult. I told you we could not act without a leader. Lord Cornwallis* is nobody—worse than nobody. I assert, what I foretold, that his silly conduct, his total incapacity, self-conceit, and mulishness† has alone lost the question. Had Lord Camden continued, had any person succeeded who would have consulted with the gentlemen of the country, and kept them in good-humour, who would have been hospitable and generous, who would not when ordered to carry a Union affront the person‡ most necessary for the service, who would not have insulted and stigmatised a loyal and well-connected family, who would not have let down the spirit of the loyal, who would not have degraded and discountenanced the yeomanry, who would not have turned against him the whole Protestant interest, the measure would have been carried.

Will you believe it? the Government has been carried on, since Lord Cornwallis has been here, merely through Captain Taylor, and is now carried on by Colonel Littlehales. The officers know nothing of what is going on, Lord Castlereagh§ knows very little||; and if any gentleman in the House of Commons were to rise and ask a question as to the state of the country, there is not a person in the House who could tell him. The Castle language is that, forsooth, Lord Cornwallis

* Lord Grenville writes, Jan. 28th, regarding Lord Cornwallis's conduct: "Sorry I am to confess that I concurred heartily and eagerly in his appointment, a measure my share in which I shall deplore to the hour of my death." There seems to have been some idea of recalling Lord Cornwallis at this time. See *Memoirs of Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 429.

† Gentlemen connected with the Irish Government seemed to have been in the habit of using strong language.

‡ Mr. Foster.

§ Mr. Pelham resigned in November 1798, and was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh.

|| Mr. Cooke was now the confidential friend and adviser of Lord Castlereagh.

came over here as a military man to take command of the army, and that he has nothing to do with the civil Government.

You must laugh at me for the division in the Commons. In the first place, time was not given to form our numbers: but I was told to consider Lord Downshire and Lord Ely as firm, and Lord de Clifford; and with their full assistance and of others who had promised, we ought to have divided 148 to 91.

Let me ask you, was the necessity of a new Lord-Lieutenant insisted upon? was the necessity of making Pelham vacate only insisted upon? was the necessity of making the first application to the Speaker insisted upon? was the necessity of applying every possible engine of ability, dexterity, influence, insisted upon? was any one self-evident requisite complied with?

Thus has the greatest measure failed, which might have been carried as easy as a turnpike bill. It may be difficult to renew it.

We may work through ordinary business, but not smoothly.

Most truly yours,

E. COOKE.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Friday.

My dear Lord,—Yesterday there was a little more botheration in the House of Commons, on the report of the address to the King; that part of it was expunged which contained an answer to the recommendation from the throne to take into serious consideration the best means of maintaining and improving the connection between the two kingdoms. So that upon this trifling and unimportant subject the Commons of Ireland have thought fit to hold a sulky but dignified silence. Government were beat, I understand, by a majority of three. I cannot conceive how they could have been so grossly deceived as to their strength. Ely played them foul, certainly,

as did many individuals. But, allowing for the villany and treachery which might have been expected, I always understood there were a certain majority of thirty in support of Government. Mr. George Ponsonby wished to follow up his victory, and proposed a resolution to pledge the House against the measure of a Union; but he was obliged to withdraw it, several country gentlemen, who had voted with him for expunging the paragraph in the address, declaring that they would oppose any such resolution: so that this malignant knave has been, in the event, the best friend of Government under the circumstances in which they stood. I fear that in one particular they may be betrayed into a very awkward predicament, as I understand doubts are entertained of extending dismissals from office further than they have already gone. On this subject, the only opinion which I gave to Lord Castlereagh was, that, if he determined to take that line, he was bound in common justice to reinstate Parnell, Knox, and Fitzgerald (the Prime Serjeant). This, it seems, cannot be done, as the succession to Parnell and Knox has been promised. I hear from every person whom I have spoken to on the subject, that Lord Castlereagh distinguished himself very much yesterday.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, January 29th, 1799.

My dear Lord,—I am very glad to tell you that the despatches I found from Ireland confirm fully the favourable impression we had received from your letters, and show that, in point of opinion, though not of immediate votes, much ground was gained in favour of the ultimate success of the measure. It appears also that my plan for Thursday will exactly fall in with the wishes of the Irish Government.

The messenger shall be with you at ten to-morrow,

to wait till your letters arrive, and as much longer as you please.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Monday, 2 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I shall be happy to see you here at eleven to-morrow, and we may then speak on the subject of your letter, which I will think over in the mean time. The accounts I have got from Irving, though not yet quite complete, contain excellent matter for our purpose.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

P.S. In your letters to Ireland, pray let it be understood that you are *quite sure* that neither the stoppage of the supplies nor any other violence (however mischievous to Ireland) will have any other effect here than confirming our opinion of the necessity of perseverance.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Thursday, January 31st, 1799.

My dear Beresford,—I have been much employed with Mr. Pitt in looking into Irish accounts, preparing English accounts, motions, &c. We are by no means discouraged by what has happened to you.

It appears clearly enough that, if a little time and more management had been employed, the point might have been carried with a good majority in Parliament. I much fear that the Castle communications are not well calculated for the meridian of the country.

However, the result may in the end be more beneficial than a victory in the first instance. The fermentation is subsiding, and will subside, and plain

truth and plain sense will come forward. Mr. Pitt will probably exhibit both the one and the other this evening, in the finest speech that he has ever made. Mr. Long and I are taking measures to have the best possible notes of it taken, that it may be printed and sent among you. It will open the whole question, and state his firm decision to go forward, in the reliance that Ireland will understand the question, and will then become ready to give a fair discussion to it.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

(Extract.)

Saturday, February 2nd.

My dear Beresford,—Mr. Pitt's speech* on the Irish business surpassed even the most sanguine expectation of his friends, and, perhaps, even any former exhibition of parliamentary eloquence. It will be correctly published for you next week, and shall be forwarded to you for the fullest and most extensive circulation in Ireland.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Sunday, 4 P.M.

My dear Lord,—You will be sure of finding the first dinner at the usual hour to-morrow, and I hope you will form your plan for staying the second. You

* In this celebrated speech Mr. Pitt produced great effect by a happy quotation from Virgil :—

“Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto ; paribus se legibus ambæ
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.”

Lord Holland speaks slightly of this speech, and relates that Lord Lansdowne, who heard him for the first time, declared “there was gout in it.”

will find not a very numerous party, and one which I am sure you will not dislike to meet. I am just setting out to pay my homages* at Blackheath, and hope they will not be required again for some time.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

March 15th, 1799.

My dear Lord,—I have recovered so far as to suffer more from the impatience of confinement than any other part of my malady. Ireland has been so entirely the subject of all my sleeping and waking dreams, that I shall be much mortified if I cannot attend on Tuesday. But the bad success of an attempt I made this morning to walk, and the fatigue I felt last night from a very long *bavardage* with some strokes of eloquence, discourage me very much. A declaration of the county of Galway, which Lord Mendip repeated to me yesterday, seems to be a full answer to all that the opposition can say against our measure. You should get it. My admonition to one of your predecessors has had a complete effect, and I think there is an end of that measure.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Queen Street, Westminster,
Saturday evening, March 16th, 1799.

My Lord,—The consideration of the resolutions of the Commons, stated by Mr. Pitt, on first producing them on the 31st of January last, to contain the outline or groundwork of the proposed project of *union with Ireland*, standing as the question of the day for Tuesday, I flatter myself your Lordship will have the goodness to forgive my intruding upon your

* To the Princess of Wales.

notice any matter that I deem material to the elucidation of a subject in which, notwithstanding my acknowledgment of its superior importance, I cannot forbear, for reasons your Lordship is well acquainted with, from confessing I presume to take a considerable interest.

From the 31st of January to this hour I have watched the agitation of this important national topic in both Houses with a considerable degree of anxiety; and knowing Dr. Laurence* to be the medium—the able, the learned, and the powerful medium—of delivering the opinions of Earl Fitzwilliam's mind and prejudices upon the subject, I have particularly attended to what fell from him. I heard him on the 31st of January, and though I perceived that the gravity and weight of his manner were not extremely well calculated to captivate a popular assembly, greatly made up of young auditors, I felt so much strength, solidity, and depth of thinking in his matter, that it appeared to me well worth mature and deliberate consideration in the calm perusal of his arguments in the closet. Knowing him from his boyish days (though never intimately, as his demeanour is austere, and his manners are rather repulsive than conciliating), I applied to him for a copy of his speech, which I was conscious, though well worth attention, had been but ill attended to. Unfortunately, as the press waited to the last moment for it, the correction was unavoidably left to the printer, and a variety of errors, that escaped detection in the hurry of the moment, came forth to mar the speaker's meaning.

I afterwards heard his speech of the 11th of February was still more elaborate, more copious, and more *au fond* upon the subject, though he seized on a hapless hour for a long argument, as your Lordship knows the House of Commons are more clamorously impatient after the minister and his more eminent

* The friend and executor of Burke.

opponents have delivered their sentiments. I immediately laid siege to Dr. Laurence, who felt flattered by the letter I wrote to him, and, although it was then term time, and he full of business as a civilian, promised, if possible, to steal an hour or two from the night, and furnish me with what I requested, provided I could allow him time. I made the amplest provision I could in that respect; but the Doctor was obliged to exceed it again and again. Conscious of the importance of laying his full argument correctly before the public, I persevered, resisted his repeated requests that I would give up the object and take some newspaper report. I replied that I was aware of the commandment "Thou shalt do no murder," and dared not oblige him. Drop by drop, as if it had been the distillation of vital blood, I got it from him. His speech, after a delay of publication for three weeks, appears in the fourteenth number of my Reports, p. 183; and I am led to imagine, from my own attentive perusal of it this evening, that your Lordship will not charge me with calling upon you to misspend your time, when I earnestly recommend to you the reading of it, before you go into the House on Tuesday. I am aware that Dr. Laurence speaks as the agent of a sorely-feeling superior, but there is surely some sense in the old adage, *fas est ab hoste doceri*.

I need not to your Lordship say that this letter is written in the most perfect confidence.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

W. WOODFALL.

A new coalition had now been formed between England, Austria, and Russia.

Mr. Garlike to Lord Auckland.

Berlin, March 18th, 1799.

My dear Lord,—Austria is at length engaged in hostilities. The Archduke crossed the Lech on the

4th, and is moving towards Ulm on the Danube, whither the French columns are also advancing. Yet Prussia is still looking at her line of demarcation, *at other circumstances which are yet to arise!* and for more sensible affronts which shall enable the King to call on his people as well as on his army for the effectual helps to carry on such a war as will then be necessary.

This is in truth the language which is meant to palliate the refusal of the assistance offered by Russia and England, and the determination of this country to abide by *her defensive system, extended and detailed as far as the allies* may be disposed to carry it. Explanations have since taken place on this unsatisfactory language, but it amounts to no more than that there are a *variety of circumstances* which, independent of a direct attack from France on Prussia, may determine his Prussian Majesty to act offensively. When these explanations were offered the Archduke had not crossed the Lech; and that proof of *active war* in Austria is, we hope, one of the many circumstances which are to lead Prussia to war. We are the more inclined to catch at such a hope, because the conduct of Austria during the late events in Italy, and the result of those events to Naples, certainly made Prussia retrograde on the ground she had been gaining since last spring.

I am sorry to add that General Auffenberg, after having successfully repulsed an attack on his position at Coire, in the Grisons, on the 6th, was re-attacked with superior numbers on the 7th, and obliged to retire. This circumstance induced General Hotze to retire on the same line from Feldkirch. They had weakened their line by detaching troops to General Bellegarde in the Tyrol.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your ever dutiful, &c.,

B. GARLIKE.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, April 10th, 1799.

My dear Brother,—Our military matters since our reverse in the Grisons are going on well, and if the Archduke Charles had 30,000 men more we should now be masters of Switzerland. The enemy is entirely driven out of the Tyrol, where they have committed the most atrocious horrors. They are likewise driven behind the Mincio, and the Austrians have thrown some shot into Peschiera. At the passage of that river there may be an engagement. Suwarow will probably arrive in time to take the command. The Archduke Joseph is arrived here from Petersburg, and will immediately proceed to the army. The Great-Duke Constantine is hourly expected, and is to attend him as a volunteer.

The Great-Duke and Duchess of Tuscany and their children are on their road hither through the Cisalpine. Manfredini remains at Florence, and, as it is said, by compulsion.

Your obliged and affectionate

M. EDEN.

The debate on the Union came on in the House of Lords on April the 9th, and is graphically described by "Memory Woodfall."

The following is an extract of Lord Auckland's speech on that occasion:—

"Some of the noble Lords who seemed to oppose the measure of Union, have been pleased to talk much, though somewhat indefinitely, respecting what is most improperly termed Catholic emancipation. I am not disposed to follow them into the entanglements of a discussion in which I see no possible good and much possible mischief. Nor is such discussion now necessary. Our fifth* and eighth resolutions are clear

* The fifth article proposed that the Churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved

and intelligible, and do not seem to require or admit amendment. It has long been my opinion that whatever the indulgence, whether more or less limited, to the Catholics of England, the measure of those indulgences ought to guide our discretion with respect to the Catholics of Ireland. I am of opinion that such a rule is best calculated to the security, happiness, and true interests of both persuasions. I sincerely lamented the abrupt departure from that rule in 1793. But I will not look back with an un-availing regret to what must now be considered as irrevocable. And I rejoice that our future adherence to that rule must be one of the many important consequences of the legislative union."

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Queen Street, Westminster, April 17th, 1799.

My Lord,—Anxious as I am to be enabled to give the public, as correctly as possible, all that passes in debate on the subject of the proposed union with Ireland, you will naturally suppose that I did not lend an ungreedy ear to the discussion and arguments (for debate it was not) that took place on Lord Grenville's motion for the address to carry up the resolutions to the throne. I listened attentively to your Lordship, but though I pretty well understood the main drift of your argumentary introduction, the natural rapidity of your delivery, and the number of figures and arithmetical statements you so properly introduced, rendered it impossible for a reporter from memory to satisfy himself (if he felt as I do on the subject) with any effort of his to give a good report of what Lord Boringdon, with such appropriate terms, called not only "an eloquent but an *useful* speech." I am under the necessity, there-

as by law established. The eighth proposed that all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the respective kingdoms shall now remain as by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of England to require.

fore, of requesting your Lordship's assistance to strengthen my weakness; and I am the more solicitous of aid, because I have, from reasons heretofore stated to you, taken great pains to enable myself to furnish Ireland, as well as England, with the fullest record, on the whole, of discussions of the subject. With this view, I have procured great assistance in your House, as well as in the Commons.

I wrote to Lord Camden, whom I have long known, and have obtained his speech. Though his manner be unprepossessing, your Lordship knows his matter is worth consideration, as he is by no means deficient in understanding, and his recent office of Lord-Lieutenant renders every word that falls from him deserving of attention on both sides the water.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, who has ever treated me with great civility, is, I know, a firm friend to Union, though he chooses to cloud his concurrence with some few objections, to mark his peculiar and independent mode of thinking. He has read his speech, and returned the proof with very few alterations. I have also the assistance of other Peers. I state these facts not as a common babbler; but to your Lordship I always write with confidence, and, from long habit, without the smallest reserve.

In the midst of Lord Minto's speech on Thursday, which certainly contained much excellent remark, though it was too long for a popular assembly in which no collision of sentiment was evinced, and put one in mind of the gold-beater, whose business it is to spread his bullion to the utmost possible extent, Mr. Perry (of the "Morning Chronicle") tapped me on the shoulder, and asked if I could not send a note to your Lordship to request the figures of the general statement of exports and imports, balances of trade, &c., that you referred to in the course of your speech, that his reporter might do your Lordship justice. My answer was, that "during a debate I could not consent to quit my post, as I chose to hear the whole of it."

The real motive for this answer was, your noble friend the Lord Chancellor had honoured me with a message by his purse-bearer, informing me, "that if opportunity served he meant to speak, and would be obliged if I would attend to his argument and take a note of it." Thinking highly, as I always have done, of his powers as a parliamentary speaker; feeling a sincere regard for him as a man who early* in life honoured me with his notice, when I was almost an unknown individual; and sincerely desirous of recording, as faithfully as my humble abilities would allow, the sentiments of a speaker of such great authority in favour of a measure which I not only consider as a measure close to my own heart, but of the highest national importance, I was too impatient to listen to the oracle itself to commune in the recess of the sanctuary with even the most confidential of its high-priests.

No opposition being offered, and Lord Minto having spoken so long, I did not wonder at the Lord Chancellor not rising, the more especially as the Bishop of Llandaff† had so powerfully and so eloquently given his support to the measure. I admire his introduction, which so ably removed all ground of question why he, a former opposition speaker, should come forward as a principal advocate for the most important project administration has ventured to risk their credit upon; and, I think, his expressions and mode of comparison between "the ripe and rich fruits of the British constitution, laws, and government, with the pestilential vapours of the Tree of Liberty, productive only of the apple of Sodom, fascinating to the eye, but bitter to the taste, and destructive of all political existence," equal to anything we meet with in Demosthenes, Cicero, or any of the greatest orators of Athens, Rome, or the modern schools.

* Mr. Woodfall had been, in "early life," assistant editor to the "Public Advertiser."

† Dr. Watson.

I shall not want your Lordship's MS. for a week or ten days, but I beg the favour of a line to know if I may expect it.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

W. WOODFALL.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

Palace Yard, April 30th, 1799.

My dear Elliot, — Your excellent sister has written a letter to me, and I have contrived to mislay it, and she is not present to write another. The chief purport of it was that Lord Hobart is to marry our eldest daughter, who is a very beautiful and good creature, with every advantage of a strong mind and right principles; and his character is everything that we can wish. This event has overjoyed us, for there never was a marriage which promised so much happiness. As to other matters I postpone them.

I send you two or three newspapers, and remain ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland acquainted Mr. Pitt, through Mr. Addington, of the intended marriage of his daughter.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Downing Street, Tuesday night.

My dear Lord, — I have heard from the Speaker the circumstance which you desired him to mention, and give you many thanks for your very kind attention in making the communication, and in making him the channel of it. There could be no event interesting to any part of your family which would not be so to me; and, certainly, this is not the instance where I feel that sentiment the least. I congratulate you and all around you with the most cordial good wishes. Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, May 9th, 1799.

My dear Lord, — Your Lordship's letter, upon the subject of Lord Hobart and Miss Eden, has afforded me the truest pleasure. I have ever thought you one of the happiest of parents, and your felicity will be increased. I believe Miss Eden would make a bad man good and a wretched man happy. I do not then think her influence will be lost on the finest temper, the purest heart, and the best understanding. I know not what virtue Lord Hobart wants, but I know he is free from every vice. He is discreet without being close; he is liberal without being extravagant; confidential, domestic, unsuspicious; and he is all good temper, good nature, and pleasantry. I think Lord Hobart to be more than envied in marrying Miss Eden, and Miss Eden to be more than envied in marrying Lord Hobart.

You cannot but be happy on this occasion; Lady Auckland must be so equally; and, as I know your affectionate sympathies, and the deep and anxious interest you feel for your children, to whom you are so warmly, and in this age, uncommonly attached, I participate in your mutual satisfaction more than I can express.

I write from my heart, for loving you and loving Lord Hobart, and knowing what is the importance of connecting a daughter with the most amiable and worthy of men, I have a right to give a loose to my feelings, and to express myself with no inadequate warmth.

Your Lordship will be good enough to tell Lady Auckland what I feel on this occasion; and you will make my kindest compliments and felicitations to Miss Eden.

We are here waiting for news of the French fleet, without alarm at the idea of a landing.

you and yours, your much obliged and affectionate brother,

HENLEY.

Mr. Long to Lord Auckland.

Bromley Hill, 7 o'clock.

My dear Lord,— Just before I left town at 5 o'clock the despatches arrived from Sir R. Abercromby—they are excellent. We have got the Texel Island, a great many magazines, an arsenal, two 64-gun ships, and three frigates, and it was probable that we should soon have possession of the whole Dutch fleet, Admiral Mitchell with thirteen ships of the line had followed them up the Zuyder Zee, and was within an hour's sail of them when the despatches were sent away.

Abercromby writes in the greatest spirits*, and means to proceed immediately to Alkmaar. Our loss on landing 51 killed, and about 330 wounded. My compliments to Lady Auckland and Miss Eden.

Very sincerely yours,

C. LONG.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Walmer Castle, Friday, September 5th, 1799.

My dear Lord,— I have been these last four days at my brother's quarters, and found your letter on coming over hither this morning to meet the Duke of York. We are impatiently waiting till this east wind brings our transports in sight to carry the remainder of our troops, in order to complete speedily what has been so gloriously begun. I am quite of your opinion as to the Irish Speaker, whom we must, I think, leave to get deeper into the scrape, if he chooses it, or get out of it if he can. Your former letter reached me at Bifrons (my brother's quarters),

* In the "Memoir" lately published, he seems to have been very desponding.

and I shall probably return thither in time to return your enclosure, by to day's post. You will start when I tell you that we are going to meet Parliament in a fortnight. But the present is the moment to push our successes, and we want a short act (which may be passed in a week by acclamation), to enable us to double our army by another levy from the militia. I shall probably stay here till within two or three days of the meeting.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Brooksby, November 19th, 1799.

My dear Lord Auckland, — From a short conversation I had with Lord Castlereagh* the day before I left London, I must acknowledge that every hope I had of benefit from the Union had almost vanished; and if Mr. Pitt suffered him to go to Ireland, without checking the disposition he seemed to feel towards Dissenters of all descriptions (I mean as far as his public conduct might be influenced by it), the Catholic question will be brought to an issue, either in this country or in Ireland, before the union can pass.

The Catholics will press it under an idea that it will be conceded, if strongly urged; and the Protestants will see the necessity of following the precedent of the Scotch union, in making the security of the Church establishment a fundamental condition.

The King to Lord Auckland.

Windsor, November 29th, 1799.

Lord Auckland will be surprised at receiving this; but, as his prudence and judgment have been many years known to me, I have taken this private method

* If the Union had been carried by the Protestant leaders, in the first instance, the crisis of 1801 would probably have been avoided. To secure Catholic support was now the object of Lord Castlereagh.

of requiring his assistance, in a matter that, though it may appear but a trifle, in reality is big with much evil, and that to families we both respect.

By the ill-digested bill for recruiting the army, brought in during the short meeting of Parliament, on the reduction of the supplementary militia, the Lords-Lieutenant have a power, if, on the new formation of the county battalions, they exceed 700 men, to name a second lieutenant-colonel. I have reason to believe Lord Gower means to avail himself of this, and nominate Mr. Curzon from the 3rd battalion *, which will greatly offend Lord Uxbridge, it being to the detriment of Major Desborough, who has served twenty-one years with credit in the regiment, who, in that case, will certainly resign, and I believe Lieutenant-Colonel Sneid, and most of the captains. This appointment † is merely optional in the breast of the Lord-Lieutenant. If Lord Stafford still held that office, I am certain he would never have harboured a step so disagreeable to all the gentlemen. I therefore wish that Lord Auckland, with his usual address, would try to prevent any second lieutenant-colonel being named, unless Lord Gower can name Major Desborough. I trust this private means of expressing my sentiments may prevent much mischief in the county of Stafford, as well as the alteration of an harmonious corps.

G. R.

Colonel Le Marchant to Lord Auckland.

14 Cork Street, London, December 7th, 1799.

My Lord, — Knowing that your Lordship sees the very great necessity there is for military instruction in this country, I take the liberty earnestly to solicit your influence with ministers in support of a plan for

* Of the Staffordshire Militia.

† The appointment was not insisted on, and Lord Gower resigned. Lord Auckland did not interfere. The matter was settled by Mrs. Howe, the grand-daughter of George I.

founding a military college, and which is at present under consideration.

The rapid progress made by other nations in the art of war is so evident, that the object of this institution becomes a question of great national importance, and which certainly cannot be legislated at a more favourable moment than the present.

Although the establishment at Wycomb has been attended with the success that was reasonable to expect, yet it is not the exertion of a few individuals, acting under private patronage, that can ever essentially forward the interests of the service.

Innovation, to be well received by the public, requires to be confirmed by an act of the legislature, in order to do away with the prejudices of custom. If the improvement* of the service is not considered a measure of sufficient importance, to be acknowledged and brought forward by the Government, it is not to be expected that science will be held in higher estimation by the army itself, therefore, to attempt an establishment on any other than a national foundation, it cannot be permanent; and these considerations will deter men of science engaging in it as professors; whilst officers of rank may be led to consider any employment at a private institution as incompatible with their situations in life.

I beg leave to enclose remarks by General Jarry†, on the *utility* and *kind* of instruction given at Wycomb, and the necessity of progressive classes to render his instruction of any service. I shall consider myself much obliged if your Lordship will allow me to have the honour of waiting on you when

* Improvement certainly was required. After Walpole's disaster, Lord Grenville writes: "What a calamity it is that our army has not yet been taught, that command of troops, in moments of difficulty and danger, requires skill and knowledge, and is not a faculty bought with a commission, or at the regulated price."—*Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets* vol. ii. p. 400.

† In consequence of Colonel Le Marchant's exertions a college was established: many of the best staff officers of the Peninsula were educated by Jarry.

you come to town, in order to explain the plan in question.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant,

J. G. LE MARCHANT,
Lieut.-Col., Queen's Dragoon Guards.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Bromley Hill, Wednesday, December 25th.

My dear Lord, — I hope your correspondent's* assurances, on the subject of the *rentes viagères*, deserve more credit than I can give to those respecting the disposition to peace. I have, however, thought it best to communicate the letter immediately to Lord Grenville. Long† will take care of the cargoes of fish.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Pitt.

(Secret.)

Eden Farm, Tuesday, January 19th, 1800.

My dear Sir, — From motives, both of moral sentiment and of public and eventual policy, I should be glad, if it were practicable (which I own it is not), to treat all these Parisian‡ overtures with the sort of answer that would be given in the transactions of life to the impertinent cajoleries of known assassins and miscreants. If, however, at any time, in the sequel of the business, it should become desirable to Lord Grenville to have means beyond those in his hands, either to communicate, or to seem to communicate, with Bonaparte, or to give to him an opening to make confidences, I incline to think that a proper line to Perregaux would bring him either privately to

* Probably M. Perregaux.

† Mr. Long was now Mr. Pitt's confidential friend.

‡ Bonaparte had written a letter to the King, which was answered by Lord Grenville.

Deal, or avowedly to Dover, accompanied by another authorised fully to state matters which never can be risked in writing, and which, perhaps, might be applied to essential advantage towards accelerating and completing the final settlement.

Believe me, my dear Sir, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Tuesday, April 15th.

My dear Lord, — I return to town to-morrow. If you should be there and disengaged, perhaps you would not dislike a quiet dinner in Downing Street, to rehearse the union. If not, I wish you could send me the documents for the proportion of contribution, as I am afraid they will not be forthcoming in my box.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Lord Eldon to Lord Auckland.

This is from my son : it states a word from Sir W. Scott. I can find nothing authorising me to contradict what it contains. So you have all that has occurred to the family, whether it is right or wrong.

Mr. John Scott to Lord Eldon.*

Dear Father, — In the course of a couple of hours' search last night, when I came from the committee, I was unable to find any information so positive as would induce you to suppose that there ever existed, among the people you mention any law to prevent them from marrying again after† a divorce. There

* Eldest son of Lord Eldon.

† Lord Auckland had brought in a bill to prevent this, it was carried in the Lords, but lost in the Commons.

are multitudes of passages alluding strongly to the disgrace brought upon the parties, particularly upon the lady, *in the public opinion*, during the earlier ages; in the case of a divorce, and even when the husband had been removed by death, it was a circumstance accounted highly honourable to the widow not to marry again. But here, too, public opinion was the only stimulus to such meritorious conduct. Dr. Taylor, in his "Civil Law" (the greatest general oracle on the subject which I possess), is very minute under this head of divorce, &c.; but it never seems to have occurred to him that it was necessary to go so far as positively to state that they were permitted to marry again. In fact, in the later times of Roman history, divorces and subsequent marriages with other persons were things of every day occurrence. One or two of the *leges Juliae* (and *they* are the only semblances of a prohibition to be found) made by Augustus (Suetonius, Aug. c. 34), were intended to repress these enormities; but Juvenal afterwards says, "*ubi nunc lex Julia?*" so that it appears to have been impossible to enforce even the trifling restraints imposed by these laws.

In addition to this I add, what I have just received from Sir William, who "believes that no such prohibition existed amongst them."

But, in conclusion, I think it almost worth while to draw your attention to a passage in Tacitus, which, if one could be of a different opinion, and should argue *generally* on the other side of the question, would be rather ornamental in a course of observations on that different side of the question. Speaking of the Germans (not Romans), he says, that the husband might punish his faithless wife, in a summary way, by public expulsion, &c.; and that after that she stood a bad chance of any second husband — "*publicatæ enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non formâ, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi, sæculum*

vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eæ civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris *semel* transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus, unam vitam; ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium, ament. Plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam *alibi bonæ leges*." But I don't think we can infer from this last general reflection, that such *bonæ leges* did really exist anywhere at that time upon any particular subject.

Breakfast is waiting, and I have no time to look over this. Ever yours, &c.

JOHN SCOTT.

Dr. Vincent to Lord Auckland.*

Dean's Yard, May 2nd, 1800.

My Lord,—I take the liberty of requesting your Lordship to present a work of mine to Mr. Pitt; which I have the less scruple in doing, as you were pleased last year, without solicitation, to do me this favour, in regard to a publication much less worthy of your recommendation, or Mr. Pitt's notice.

The present work is styled the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea;" part first containing an account of the navigation of the ancients from the sea of Suez to the coast of Zanguebar. I shall present a copy to his Majesty on Friday next; and after that, if I have your permission, I will send two copies to your Lordship's house. I am fully sensible of your kind intentions to me on the occasion of your interposition in my favour last year; but whatever my hopes or wishes may be on that score, I have, moreover, a vanity which may be highly gratified by obtaining the approbation of Mr. Pitt as a reader.

I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

W. VINCENT.

* Master of Westminster School.

Nolo Episcopari, was determined to play the game through.

He ought, I think, to be blooded; and I was so strongly of that opinion, that I had a mind—the apothecary being at the time in the house—to propose it to him. After the fever has abated, I shall get him once more into my easy chair, when, I have no doubt, he will be as well prepared to hear reason as he was the day before yesterday, and when, I think, he will be thoroughly sensible of the advantage to be derived from a handsome introduction to the principal people in Ireland.

Yours affectionately,
HOBART.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

Weymouth, September 20th, 1800.

My dear Lord,—I had occasion many years ago to consider the question, whether a divorce obtained in Scotland could make a marriage of one of the parties in England a valid marriage, the proceeding in Scotland being, as I had reason to suppose, collusive. I gave an opinion against the validity of the English marriage; other lawyers of great eminence were of a contrary opinion, and upon their authority the marriage proceeded. If there had not been collusion in the suit for the divorce, I should have been rather inclined to the other opinion.

The course of life at this place has agreed so well with me, that I wish to prolong my stay, if I should not feel it to be a necessary duty to return to London, where I am afraid the Lord Mayor is proceeding like his predecessor in 1780, and will produce similar excesses. When I return the air of Eden Farm will not by any means be too cold for my habit, which is much stouter at present than I have felt it for some years. I was the only person at sea this evening without a great coat, and without a wish to have had one. The great advantage of the attendance here, is

the constant movement in the open air, and the short meals. When I arrived here I was horribly fatigued by the pedestrian exercise, but I am become a very stout walker.

I hope Lord Clare will be persuaded to come over here next session ; without him I think we shall find great inconvenience from the increased attendance in our House. The Irish Lords for some time will be very often present, and they will be liable to be canvassed upon all the incidental business of the House.

I have a great dread of an armistice * by sea ; for a great navy unemployed will be much more difficult to manage than an army. A continental truce would be very desirable ; and, in truth, no peace which could be expected in the present state of things, could amount to more than an armistice.

Your *very private* article is very generally whispered, and I believe with foundation.

My love to Lady Auckland and all her family.

Ever yours,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, October 20th, 1800.

My dear Lord,—I really think all the nonsense into which some of our best disposed friends, and many who ought to have known better, have gone headlong upon the occasion of the scarcity†, more formidable than the scarcity itself. By what one hears and reads, one would think that we were gone

* There was a discussion in the cabinet on this question, Mr. Pitt was in favour of it.

† Lord Auckland was entirely engaged at this time respecting the measures to be adapted to relieve the scarcity. Mr. Pitt had not been much at Hollwood, either in the summer or autumn, and Lord Auckland does not seem to have had much intercourse with him. Mr. Pitt passed three weeks in October with Mr. Addington.

some centuries back, or had still to learn the first principles of commercial legislation. I pray God that the meeting of Parliament may effectually stop this torrent of ignorance and mischief.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

CHAP. XLII.

Ministerial Crisis respecting Catholic Emancipation.—Defence of the Conduct of Lord Auckland.—Lord Auckland's Letter to Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Addington becomes Prime Minister.—Lord Auckland's Speech.—Peace signed with France.—Rejoicings in England.—Enthusiastic Reception of Bonaparte's Aide-de-Camp.—Opposition of Lord Grenville.

IN February 1801, when France was triumphant on the Continent, when in England there were apprehensions of famine, great consternation was excited by the resignation of Mr. Pitt, caused by the refusal of the King to agree to a plan of Catholic emancipation. This, however, was not considered the real, but only the ostensible cause, and the general opinion at the time seems to have been that Mr. Pitt, powerless to carry on the war or to make peace, delegated to his successor the task of establishing friendly relations with France.

Be that as it may, the question to be discussed on the present occasion, is not the motive of Mr. Pitt's resignation, or the wisdom or policy of the proposed measure, but whether Lord Auckland, by betraying to the King the secret of Mr. Pitt's intentions in favour of the Irish Catholics, caused the downfall of the Government.

This charge has been made against Lord Auckland on the authority of Lord Malmesbury's journal.

But with respect to Lord Malmesbury's accusations there are many reasons why anything relating to Lord Auckland should be received with caution.

In early life, when Lord Auckland was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Malmesbury a rising young diplomatist, their intercourse was of

a most friendly description; but on the appointment of Lord Auckland to conduct the negotiation for a French treaty, Lord Malmesbury treated him as a rival, and by his influence with Lord Carmarthen materially impeded his efforts.

And when, in consequence of his own treachery* to Mr. Pitt, Lord Malmesbury was forced to resign his embassy at the Hague, and Lord Auckland was appointed to succeed him, although still his professing friend, Lord Malmesbury became in reality his malignant enemy.

Besides, Lord Malmesbury was not in office, had no means of knowing official secrets, and was dependent on his friends for his information, and it is from the gossip of two of his visitors that this charge is made.

The following is the account of Lord Uxbridge, on February 24th:—“It is supposed, and on good grounds, that about three months ago Lord Auckland wrote to his brother-in-law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a letter stating that he held it his duty to inform him, as head of the Church, that a measure was in contemplation, which, if carried into effect, would put the Church in danger; that it was one resolved by the leading members of the cabinet, and that he submitted to the Archbishop’s judgment whether it would not become him as metropolitan to state this danger to the King. The Archbishop they say (though of this he was not sure) wrote to the Bishop of London and Primate of Ireland†, and they both agreed that it was his duty, to speak to the King.” This is the narrative of Lord Uxbridge. Then Lord Malmesbury adds, “If this is the fact, Lord

* See Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. i. p. 407.

† Mr. Cooke writes to Lord Castlereagh on March the 21st, 1801: “Carter the private chaplain, is come over; he is an innocent creature, and tells all he has heard. It appears that the Primate was a great card; was much consulted by the King; was for ever with him, or in correspondence with him.” He says: “the Archbishop of Canterbury was so nervous he could not sleep, and that our Primate was with him daily, encouraging him.” Mr. Cooke had been all along in the secret, and it appears that Lord Cornwallis had communicated it to the Primate, not thinking he would interfere in the matter.

Auckland made a mockery of religion, and made it subservient to his own selfish ends."

The slight weight of Lord Uxbridge's evidence is somewhat enfeebled by observing that a few days before, on February 15th, he told quite a different story.

Lord Uxbridge.—From him I find the tone of the Court to lay the whole blame on the Grenvilles; that it was their doing, particularly the Marchioness of Buckingham, — her insolence extreme, — said she would not answer the King when he spoke to her on Thursday at the drawing-room.

Then, on the 26th of February, Mr. Stuart Wortley comes in and informs Lord Malmesbury, "that as long ago as Sept. 3rd, Lord Loughborough, on his return from Weymouth, called on the Duke of Portland to ask him what he thought of the measure, *at that time* in discussion in the cabinet, with respect to Catholic emancipation." The Duke replied he thought it a necessary measure. "Have you thought of all the consequences to which it may lead? I have put my thoughts on paper relative to it, and wish you would let me leave them on your table. A few days afterwards the Duke told Lord Loughborough that his paper had convinced him of the danger of that measure, and that he now wished to know how it could be prevented. They* agreed to state it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Auckland, in consequence of a secret intelligence with Lord Loughborough, wrote his letter about the same time this was done. The Archbishop wrote to the King, then at Weymouth, and the King wrote a long letter to Mr. Pitt, expressing his disapprobation of such a measure."

If Lord Malmesbury had known anything about the subject himself, he would have related it instead of jotting down the contradictory statements of his ill-informed friends.

* According to this account, the Duke of Portland was one of the "traitors."

On the other hand, in the "Lives" of Wilberforce and Sidmouth, in the Colchester, in the Castlereagh, in the Grenville and Cornwallis Correspondence, there is no evidence* in support of this charge to be found; and the editor of Mr. George Rose's diary, a man certainly not friendly to Lord Auckland, who has seen the whole of the unpublished correspondence that took place in February 1801, between Mr. Rose and Lord Auckland, expressly states that there is not the slightest truth in it.†

Therefore, if there were no letters in the Auckland correspondence bearing on this subject, the answer would be that there is no sufficient evidence to support such a charge.

But the following correspondence will clearly show that there is not a tittle of foundation for the accusation. The answer to the charge is that Lord Auckland was totally ignorant of the secret‡ of Mr. Pitt's intention, and therefore it was utterly impossible he could betray it. It was not until the 30th of January that Lord Auckland knew that the measure was to be brought forward, and then he wrote a letter to Mr. Pitt bitterly reproaching him for his breach of friendship, praying him to reconsider his determination, and especially adverting to the effect which such a proposal would have on the mind of the King.

Lord Clare§, also, who had first suggested the idea

* In Lord Holland's reminiscences alone is there any mention of Lord Auckland and Lord Loughborough, but he does not profess to know anything decisive on the question, and he was necessarily unacquainted with ministerial secrets.

† "Still less is it true that Lords Loughborough and Auckland produced the breach between the King and Mr. Pitt."—*Rose Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 378.

‡ Mr. Pitt had, in Lord Auckland words, "industriously concealed his change of opinion," from him and Lord Hobart.

§ "We find that the most important person in the Irish Cabinet, Lord Clare, was as much in the dark as the King. He complained of the silence of Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh, as a deception on him, and they defended themselves by saying that they had no authority from the English Cabinet to open the matter to any one. The fact of the matter seems to have been, that although there had been a good deal of preliminary discussion, it was all conditional, and it was not till just before the meeting of Parliament, in January 1801, that Mr. Pitt had made

of the "Union," who had risked his influence and life in support of it, was carefully excluded from any knowledge of Mr. Pitt's intentions. Lord Clare was indignant at this unworthy treatment, and expressed the strongest resentment at the "deception" * that had been practised on him.

With respect to Lord Loughborough, his biographer and accuser, Lord Campbell, charges him with having caused the dismissal of Mr. Pitt, and says that "this result was brought about by the intrigues of Lord Loughborough."

In order "to lay open these properly" Lord Campbell "goes back" to 1795, and states that at that time, the King, entertaining conscientious doubts how far the measure of Catholic emancipation would be consistent with his coronation oath, consulted Lord Kenyon and Sir John Scott on this point, and on their stating an opinion that there would be no violation of it, the King then consulted Lord Loughborough.

This is a misstatement. The King naturally consulted his Chancellor first, and on his opinion being adverse† to his ideas, he then consulted the others.‡

Lord Campbell then produces a paper from the Rosslyn MSS., and states that it was written by Lord Loughborough, in order to flatter the prejudices of the King, and that "fortified by such authority," the King wrote his celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt.

up his mind to bring forward the measure, and that it then took every one by surprise." — *Quarterly Review*, No. 84, p. 296.

* Mr. Fox writes to Mr. Grey: "If Lord Clare can and will state in public what you hear he does in private, the perfidious system of the late Government will appear in the most glaring colours." — *Memorials of Charles James Fox*, vol. iii. p. 322.

† "We have always thought that the legal points in support of his Majesty's views were suggested by a lawyer, probably the Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Clare, certainly not by Lord Loughborough." — *Quarterly Review*, No. 79, p. 505.

‡ It was not until March the 7th, that Lord Kenyon was consulted; and, in his letter, the King complains, that although the Roman Catholic question had been silenced, yet it had not been regarded "in the strongest point of view," i. e.,—his ministers had not taken the same view of the coronation oath as his Majesty.

But there is convincing proof in the Beresford correspondence that this paper is not the composition of Lord Loughborough, but that it was sent over by Lord Clare.

It will be recollected that Lord Clare states that when Mr. Grattan brought in his bill, he should send over his "comments" * on it. There can be little doubt that Lord Clare did send them to the King. This paper has never appeared; but whoever reads the following passages of Lord Clare's letters to Mr. Beresford will see that they are almost identical with the paper found in the Rosslyn MSS.

"The only laws which now affect Papists in Ireland, are the acts of supremacy and uniformity, the test act and the bill of rights. The question deserves serious investigation, how far the King can give his assent to a repeal of any one of these acts, without a breach of the coronation oath, and the articles of union with Scotland."—*Rosslyn MSS.*†

"The only acts which now affect Irish Papists are the acts of supremacy and uniformity, the test act and the bill of rights. The King cannot give his assent to any of these without a direct breach of the coronation oath, of the act limiting the succession to the crown, and of the articles of union with Scotland."—*Lord Clare to Mr. Beresford, Feb 14th.*

"The construction put upon the coronation oath by Parliament at the Revolution seems strongly marked in the journals of the House of Commons. A clause was proposed by way of rider to the bill establishing the coronation oath, declaring that nothing contained in it should be construed to bind down the King and Queen, their heirs and successors, not to give the Royal assent to any bill for qualifying the act of uniformity, so far as to render it palatable to Protestant Dissenters, and the clause was negatived on a division."—*Rosslyn MSS.*

"If any doubt that the coronation oath binds the King not to assent to a repeal of any of the acts which were enacted before and at the Revolution, for the maintenance and security of the Protestant establishment, the journals of Parliament would alone remove it. While the act establishing the coronation oath was in progress through the House of Commons,

* The query addressed to Lord Kenyon is taken from Lord Clare's papers.

† See *antè*, Vol. III. p. 304.

a clause was proposed by way of rider to it, declaring that nothing contained in the oath should be construed to bind down the King and the Queen, their heirs and successors, not to give the Royal consent to a bill qualifying the act of uniformity in favour of Dissenters which was negatived."—*Lord Clare to Mr. Beresford, March 2nd, 1795.*

"It is likewise apprehended that by the articles of union with Scotland, it is declared to be an essential and fundamental article, that the King of Great Britain shall maintain the Church of England as by law established in England and Ireland, and Berwick-upon-Tweed."—*Rosslyn MSS.*

"By the articles of union it is declared to be a fundamental article that the King of Great Britain shall maintain the Church of England as by law established in England, Ireland and Berwick-upon-Tweed."—*Lord Clare to Mr. Beresford, March 2nd.*

"The bargain made by Ireland in 1782, by Yelverton's act, should be referred to, and the question will occur, whether a repeal of any of the English statutes adopted by this act in this country, would not be a direct violation of the compact then made by the Parliament of Ireland."—*Rosslyn MSS.*

"Pray remind Auckland of the bargain made in Ireland in 1782, by Yelverton's act, and let him say whether a repeal of any of the English statutes adopted by that act in this country is not a direct violation of the compact then made by the Parliament of Ireland with Great Britain."—*Lord Clare to Mr. Beresford, March 2nd.**

Lord Clare's threat of Lord Loughborough losing his head is softened in the Rosslyn paper into a mild question. "The Chancellor of England would perhaps incur some risk in fixing the seal of England to a bill for giving the Pope a concurrent ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the King."

But even admitting the paper is the composition of Lord Loughborough, it could not possibly have influenced the King in writing to Mr. Pitt, because the paper is dated *March 5th*, whilst the letter of the King the date of which Lord Campbell does not give, is *February the 6th*.

Lord Campbell then "shifts the scene to Wey-

* Lord Clare also states on this letter, "I had the honour of a conference on this subject a month since, when I stated every objection which occurs in the British statutes." This conference was probably with Lord Fitzwilliam.

mouth," and he blames Lord Loughborough for showing Mr. Pitt's letter, summoning him to a cabinet on September 30th, 1800, to the King; but there appears nothing in that letter which could give any clue to Mr. Pitt's opinions; it only states the question to be discussed was the general state of the Catholics, the tithe question, and payment of the Roman Catholic priests.

Then Lord Loughborough is accused of having at the council "opposed Mr. Pitt's simple, comprehensive, and effectual measure" of Catholic emancipation.

Lord Loughborough could not have acted thus, because, at this cabinet, it is certain, that Mr. Pitt did not propose anything of the kind: the cabinet met to discuss the three propositions brought forward in Lord Castlereagh's paper, and Lord Loughborough, who expressed his dissent from the views of Lord Castlereagh with respect to Catholic emancipation, imagined that his arguments were strongly felt by Mr. Pitt.

Then, writes Lord Campbell, the Chancellor set secretly to work, and composed a most elaborate and artful paper.*

This is entirely without foundation. This "most elaborate and artful paper" was a most able and temperately worded document, in which Lord Loughborough, whilst differing from Lord Castlereagh's proposal of Catholic emancipation, agreed to the payment of the Roman Catholic priests, and propounded a plan with respect to the tithe question. Lord Loughborough sent it to his colleagues, and, as appears by the Castlereagh Correspondence†, it was transmitted to Ireland. The King asked for and received a copy in December from Lord Loughborough.‡

* In this elaborate and artful paper there is not a word about the coronation oath.

† See Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. 25—27, and Edinburgh Review, No. 103, p. 350.

‡ What makes the charge of secrecy more extraordinary is that Lord Campbell actually gives Mr. Dundas's reply to the "elaborate and artful paper."

Mr. George Rose, who was in constant communication with Lord Loughborough during the crisis of February, has left in his journal a complete explanation of Lord Loughborough's conduct, who did every thing in his power to prevent an explosion.

Sheridan wittily said of Lord Grenville in 1807, "that he built up a brick wall and then ran his head against it." This was exactly the course pursued on the present occasion. Lord Loughborough tried in vain to obstruct the operations of Mr. Pitt and his assistant mason, Lord Castlereagh, in building the wall, and when it was built Lord Auckland tried to prevent Mr. Pitt from running his head against it. Their efforts were in vain; but it is very unfair that they who tried to dissuade Mr. Pitt from committing "political suicide," should be charged with tampering with the King's conscience in order to betray him.

The King's mind was made up in 1795, and there really seems to have been no treachery or tampering with his conscience, during the whole transaction, although Mr. George Rose and the Bishop of Lincoln, accuse Mr. Addington, Mr. Canning "glances" at Lord Westmoreland, Mr. Cooke at the Primate, Mr. Fox, at Fitzgibbon and the Bishops, and Lord Malmesbury denounces Lords Loughborough and Auckland.

Undoubtedly there is an instance of this tampering, but that was in 1807, and the man who then "made a mockery of religion, and made it subservient to his own selfish ends" was Lord Malmesbury himself.*

The following is the letter of Lord Auckland. It will be convincing to every candid mind, that so far

* Mr. Croker, in the *Quarterly Review*, makes the following observation respecting this matter:—"There is no one, we think, whom Lord Malmesbury mentions with more asperity than Lord Auckland for his supposed share in disturbing the King's mind in 1801, by alarming him against the designs of Mr. Pitt on the Catholic question. Yet we shall find Lord Malmesbury himself pursuing the same line (and without so strong a duty) and instigating the Duke of Portland to take similar measures for encouraging the King to resist the Catholic concessions proposed by the Talents."—Vol. 75, p. 453.

from accelerating the fall of Mr. Pitt, he endeavoured in vain to avert it.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Pitt.

(Most private and confidential.)

Palace Yard, Jan. 31st, 7 A.M.

My dear Sir,—I write this letter after the first night, in the course of fifty-six years, that I recollect to have passed without any disposition to sleep. I write it rather to avoid the self-reproach of inactivity and reserve in a conjuncture the most unhappy that I have known, than from any vanity of spirit or any hope that my openness will meet with a return, or that what I shall say will make any impression. I write, because it is not in my nature to preserve a sullen silence under the knowledge which I have of what is going forwards; and yet it nearly throws my reason off its hinges, when I am to advert to particulars impossible to have been expected by me, after all that had passed on my part in 1790*, in 1795, and through the whole course of our preparing the fatal measure of the Union in 1799 and 1800. Still, however, if considerations hitherto unforeseen by either of us, and at this hour utterly beyond any reach of my imagination, have decided you to an experiment, momentous beyond example, contrary to your supposed opinions, and adverse to the known and fixed opinions of one who has long merited your confidence, and has shown himself warmly and affectionately attached to you, surely it is neither petulant nor unreasonable to say that a wound from a friend's hand may be aggravated beyond mortal sufferance by the neglectful and indifferent manner in which it is inflicted.

I well know, and I make allowances for, the unwillingness of a great mind to hold conference and controversy with those whose opinions on essential subjects can have no complaisance or pliancy. But I

* In 1790 Mr. Pitt strongly opposed Mr. Fox's motion for a repeal of the test act.

know also that the same great mind is candid and gracious when the first movements of impatience have subsided, and that it is capable of self-examination, self-conviction, and self-correction.* It is under this impression that I shall now state a few questions in the order in which they occurred to me when I first heard that it was seriously in contemplation to strike down all the barriers which the wisdom of our forefathers thought necessary for the security of our creed and religious establishment.

Is such an enterprise necessary? Is it expedient? *Cui bono?* With what view? To what end? Will it convert disaffection to loyalty? Will it change antipathies and intolerance into mutual love and indulgence? Will it reconcile sects which a long and bloody experience has shown to be irreconcilable? Will it stand clear of the imputation (however unjust) of unconcern and apathy respecting truths the most essential both to present and future life? Will it not be considered as tending to revolution, either through the influence of irreligion by the equipoise, or rather by the confusion, of all creeds and worships, as so many state juggles, or through the effect of a religious alarm and animosity which may possibly burst forth in every part of the empire?

But admitting for a moment that the measure is sound in its principles, is it consistent with good faith to push it forwards as a postscript to the Union, a proposition which is repugnant to the feelings, because it is deemed ruinous to the safety and interest of those who principally supported the Union, and who supported it under a very different expectation, known to prevail in their minds, and warranted (as they thought) by what had passed in 1795?

There is, however, a larger point of view. Is the measure applicable to the actual circumstances of

* In 1791 Lord Auckland risked everything by opposing the views of the Government with respect to the Russian war; and it is to the honour of Mr. Pitt that he appreciated the motives of Lord Auckland, and became convinced that his opinions were well founded.

the British empire? Is it eligible and wise? Is it moral and justifiable before God and man to force a disunion among your friends, and expose the whole Government of the country to the mockery and mischief of our enemies, and to eventual submission, and all this in the conjuncture and crisis of the most accumulated difficulties?

Permit me to advance one step farther. I will admit, for a moment, that the measure is so eligible in its tendency and so right in its principles as to justify you in sacrificing many friends to it, and in exposing the kingdom to great embarrassments in the pursuit of it. Still, is it *so clear*, is it *quite so clear*, that it will have the concurrence of any one branch of the legislature? If it be likely to fail in any of those branches (and God avert the effect which it may possibly have on one * of them); if it be certain to meet with a great and serious obstruction in each of these branches, will the inevitable agitation and impression of such a struggle, even if the point could be carried, be compensated by any good to be derived from the modern theory of adapting old establishments to new circumstances, of weighing religious tenets in the scale of popularity, and of being guided by what is called the will of the people and the freedom of religious opinion?

Is it, in plain words, advisable or right to try such a measure without previously ascertaining that it will have the concurrence of the Crown, of the Church, and of the law, and of the leading individual and great interests by which your Government have been so steadily supported?

Lastly, if these suggestions be solid in part, are they not at least sufficient to require a pause, and will it not be consonant to the manly wisdom of your mind to bear down in the interim all attempts to move a business replete with mischief and with danger and hazard beyond calculation?

* The King.

I will close with a last request. I wish this letter to be shown to the Speaker. I am sure that it is not fit for any other eye. I do not know that it is fit for his. I have not had the means of seeking or learning his opinion on the subject, and I look with diffidence to my own sense respecting others in a period when the hand of Providence, for some dreadful purpose, seems to persuade men's minds to involve in calamity and destruction every establishment, every principle, and every public individual interest that is near and dear to my mind and heart.

Mr. Pitt must have received this letter before he had sent his letter to the King announcing his intention of bringing forward a measure of Catholic emancipation, and on this very day he seems to have wavered in his determination, for Mr. Addington, who had been sent by the King to persuade him to abandon his intention, "so far believed he had succeeded, that, in his answer to the King, he encouraged his Majesty to expect a satisfactory arrangement." This is confirmed by the King's letter of the 31st to Mr. Addington, in which the King states that he is "highly pleased at the just grounds to hope that Mr. Pitt will see the impropriety of his giving countenance to a proposition not less big with danger than absurdity."

However, Mr. Pitt again changed his mind, and on February the 1st he sent his letter to the King.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Downing Street, Saturday, January 31st, 1801,
8 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I have many reasons for not wishing to say much in answer to your letter of this morning. Widely as we differ on the subject itself which led to it, I am afraid we should differ at least as much as to the question on which side there had been a failure of friendship, confidence, or attention

in reference to this business. I feel this so strongly that I will not dwell upon it. Nothing belonging to this occurrence, painful as it is to my personal feelings with respect to yourself, can make me forget how long and how sincerely I have been, affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hatsell.

(Private.)

Palace Yard, February 7th.

My dear Sir, — You may possibly have heard, and if not you will soon hear, in confidence, from other quarters, that the unhappy business which I stated in my letter of Thursday last, is ending in a schism among the ministers, and in the retiring of several of the most efficient. I see with concern for the public this addition to the difficulties which already press upon us. And I am grieved more than I can describe to you by the divisions which will take place among those who have been accustomed to live and act together with friendship and entire affection. And it is but poor consolation to me to have no prominent concern in the discussion, and to be determined not to go beyond the line of my present situation.

Few embarrassments, however, are quite so desperate as they seem to be, and, at the worst, I see that a respectable Government may still be formed, and, I think, will be formed, to keep the great machine, for a time at least, from dissolution.

All this is, of course, for your *secret* information till you learn it in detail from better authority.

Believe me, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Mr. William Eden.

(Quite private.)

Palace Yard, February 8th, Sunday Night.

My dear William.—When you see what has been going forward in the interior of Government, you

will easily comprehend that I must have passed the last ten days in an incessant bustle. I found time, however, to write a confidential letter to your Dean*, as I thought that it might be acceptable to him to be informed of the truth of the case, however much he may regret its tendency and consequences.

It is superfluous to tell you that Mr. Pitt's intended resignation is an occurrence most painful to my feelings. I lament it for his sake, as I do not think it calculated to add lustre to his great character : it will be thought ill-timed, and a withdrawing in a crisis of accumulated difficulties. I lament it for my own sake, for, in despite of all friendly professions and intentions, these differences on essential points tend to estrange men from each other ; and there is no other individual in official life with whom I can ever bring myself to have the same pleasant intimacy. But, above all, I lament it for the sake of the public, which never so much wanted the joint exertion of all the great abilities. Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, Lord Camden, Mr. Windham, and Lord Spencer, will also (it is supposed) resign, and Mr. Canning, Mr. Rose, and Mr. Long. I have not heard of any others.

If you hear reports that I am going to any responsible or higher office, do not believe them ; but say nothing. It will not be so ; I have no such views or wishes. *Au contraire.*

The *Irish Union* has produced this disunion. The point of difference has been whether to repeal the test laws ; which they who remain in office consider as barriers established by the wisdom of our ancestors for the safety of our civil and religious constitution. The repeal of those laws would open to the Catholics, and to every description of Dissenters, the judicial offices, the executive offices, and Parliament.

You will, I believe, find a good deal upon this subject in Blackstone.

No more at present. Yours very affectionately,
AUCKLAND.

* Dr. Cyril Jackson.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Addington.

Palace Yard, February 9th, 1801.

My dear Sir, — During the course, and in the first result, of the difficulties and businesses brought upon you by the late unexpected and inexplicable calamity, I did not think proper to interrupt you: because I felt that I could only concur in your anxious wishes to prevent what has happened, and that I could not offer any suggestion which would not present itself more correctly to your mind and judgment.

In the actual state of circumstances, the respect which I owe both to you and to myself, induces me to say, that I shall continue to pursue the line which my sense of duty to the King, and of parliamentary consistency presents to me. And in pursuing that line I have no public wish whatever but to promote a safe termination of the severe struggles which press upon us, and to preserve the independence, the prosperity, the honour, and the civil and religious constitution of the empire.

I am, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Tuesday, 9 o'clock.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I have received a note from the Speaker desiring to see me between ten and twelve this morning.

I cannot help feeling very doubtful what I ought to do, but do not think I shall decide anything at the interview. — Affectionately yours,

HOBART.

Dr. Cyril Jackson to Lord Auckland.*

Wednesday, February 11th, 1801.

My Lord, — I do not know how to express my thanks for the letters with which you so kindly

* Dean of Christchurch.

favoured me, and I beg you to believe that I have been withheld from expressing those thanks sooner, merely by the fear of intruding upon you at a moment like the present one.

Another friend, who, like your Lordship, without being in the Cabinet, had the means of accurate information, has been equally good to me, though, in fact, the result has been, that I had a week more of silent *misery* to myself than would have been otherwise the case. I do not hesitate to use the word *misery*, strong as it may be. The truth is, that I never did feel *misery* on the subject of public affairs before — never before was I thoroughly alarmed. In all other conjunctures I could conceive, as possible, at least some mode of averting the evil. In the present case I see none. If it were possible that the same persons should resume their former situations to-morrow morning, the mischief already done is incalculable and without remedy.

As far as I am now informed I do not scruple to say that I have yet seen or heard nothing which justifies* Mr. Pitt in having taken a step productive of so much evil; and I am deceived if the nation at large will not be very peremptory in calling for his justification, — and admit nothing as such that shall be at all less than absolute necessity. As far as I am now informed, I have seen nothing which could amount to that.

Speaking with the same limitation, I must also say that nothing yet presents to me any idea of an efficient administration, to be formed from the remaining materials of the old one, and the friends of the old one. The promise of support, &c., is not one by which at my age I can be deluded. It may go on for a little time — its continuance is a moral impossibility.† And then what remains to us!

* What makes Mr. Pitt's resignation more unjustifiable is, that on the important point of the payment of the Roman Catholic priests, which had answered so well in Canada, all the great statesmen and even the King were agreed.

† A good prophecy.

Of the sentiments of this place I can have no doubt. But in some way or other we as well as the rest of the nation must be made to understand on what grounds Mr. Pitt has taken this step, and what were the points really at issue.

But I beg your Lordship's pardon for trespassing upon you so long. Yet after the kindness of your letters I could not content myself with less than opening to you the real state of my mind.

And now, because it is my fundamental maxim that duties of any sort, be they great or small, are always the best comforters, and because it is my duty at present to assist censors in correcting Lent verses, I shall amuse myself this evening with seeing how your son has succeeded in describing the life and manners of a gipsy.

I am, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Lordship's obliged and faithful servant,

CYRIL JACKSON.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

(Private.)

February 14th.

My dear Beresford,—I write merely to say what you will probably hear, or may have already heard from others, that the excellent King is seriously and alarmingly indisposed.* His fever is continual, and it certainly affects his mind, though not with a loss of reason; but with an agitation and disposition to talk. The bad symptoms have been increasing several days, are now come to such a height, that it is not thought right to have any further concealment or reserve.

I wish but hardly expect to send you a better account.

Yours ever,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Garlike to Lord Auckland.

The Emperor of Russia certainly died a violent

* In consequence of the illness of the King, Mr. Pitt offered to give up the measure of Catholic emancipation.

death.* The conspirators, headed by Valerien Zoubow (brother of Plato Zoubow the favourite of Catherine II.), found their way to his apartment in the night of the 24th ult. The sentinel near the door was killed on the spot. Zoubow entered the room alone, and proposed the signature of an act of abdication; which the Emperor was preparing to comply with, when he suddenly seized Zoubow by the collar. The signal being then given, the other conspirators rushed in; the Emperor fell on his knees, and begged for his life, but was told it was now too late. One of them struck him down with a musket, and he was immediately strangled in his sash.

B. GARLIKE.

After the recovery of the King the new ministerial arrangements took place, Mr. Addington having shown a great unwillingness to give up his important position, although Mr. Pitt had offered to give up the Catholic question and to return to office. Lord Hobart became Secretary at War, Lord Eldon Lord Chancellor. The Duke of Portland remained as Home and Lord Hawkesbury succeeded Lord Grenville as Foreign Secretary.

Although since Lord Auckland's letter in January, there had been a coolness, there seems to have been no open breach between him and Mr. Pitt, until his speech† on March 20th in the debate on Lord Darnley's motion.

The following is the passage which Mr. Pitt considered offensive, and broke off his intercourse with Lord Auckland:—

"It is not in human nature, nor history, that generals inured to great actions, and born to achieve them, can, without motives of good and superior import, get into their post-chaise and quit their army in the time of action. I am obliged then to have

* On the 25th of March.

† Lord Auckland sent a copy of his speech to his friend Lord Malmesbury, who seems to have agreed with it, but was amazed at Lord Auckland's ingratitude.

recourse to the words of a noble Earl (Carlisle), and to say there is in this business a mystery, and something difficult for one man to explain to another. There is a veil through which the eye cannot penetrate. Time and circumstances may remove that veil." *

Lord Carnarvon† to Lord Auckland.

Bagshot, April 2nd, 1801.

My dear Lord,—I have directed my second, Mr. Debrett, to fire a shot at you the moment he is loaded. In the mean time, I have, in close imitation of modern generals, got into my post-chaise, and drove as fast as I can go from the field of battle. Yesterday morning I called at Young's, in my way to your house, to inform him of my departure, and to subject my artillery to your inspection, and I found that you had already deserted the field, so that our reputations, as to that point at least, I flatter myself, are on a par, and at least as fair as those of our late renegade chiefs. I have, however, the advantage over you, for if our flight has impeached the character of either of us for valour, I shall have an opportunity of re-establishing my fame in the defence of the poor farmers, mealmen and bakers in the environs of Plymouth; and by preventing their neighbours starving by putting a shorter end to the lives of those who don't like to die with an empty stomach.

I am thither bound by order of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to draw my sword and sheath

* Time and circumstances have not removed this veil; it is still as impenetrable as ever. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* observes that "Mr. Pitt's conduct at this crisis was as unintelligible to those of his contemporaries, to whom it was known, as it is to us at present."

"We confess ourselves at a loss to justify, and scarcely even to explain, the course which he pursued. Why, if he was so willing to remain in March, he was so resolved to resign in February,—or why, if he was so resolved on resigning in February, he was willing to remain in March, we are equally unable to determine."—*Edinburgh Review* for 1858, pp. 136, 137.

† Henry, first Earl.

my pen. I trust my very dear friend and allies' protest against your speech (though protests are at this moment unfashionable), will neither be deemed libellous nor treasonable, nor merit being expunged.

I remain, with great regard for everything but your calculations when they differ from mine, my dear Lord, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

CARNARON.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

Eden Farm, April 4th.

My dear Elliot,—Though we never hear from you and rarely write to you, we often affectionately recollect you, and trust that the same sentiment prevails on your part.

In truth, I have long ceased to write letters, except on current businesses; for the public prospects are become so gloomy, that it is painful to advert to them; and they have been made much worse by the late secession of the men alone able to make them better. I am tempted to send to you the substance of a short speech which I lately had occasion to make on that subject, and which was thought by some to evince a degree of impatience, although, in fact, it fell far short of my private feelings respecting the event alluded to. All these matters lead me to seek happiness (where I find it by the blessing of Providence), within my own family. My two married daughters are comforts to us, to themselves, and to their husbands, beyond all description; and the others of our young crowd are coming forward well. We are passing two or three weeks at this place, and all in perfect health.

I say nothing either of the operations of war, or of the negotiations for peace.

"Deus hæc fortasse benignus
Reducet in melius."

Yours very affectionately,
AUCKLAND.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Lord Auckland.

Dresden *, June 1st, 1801.

My dear Lord, — I am much obliged to you for the communication of the printed part of a speech you delivered in the House of Lords, alluding to the late change in administration. You will easily conceive how perfectly mysterious and unintelligible the secret arrangements in Government in Great Britain must be to any person who has passed so great a proportion of his life abroad as I have done. In the course of nearly *thirty years'* service in the diplomatic career, I have witnessed so many changes, both in domestic and foreign politics, that I have certainly attained one of the qualities which Horace quotes as appropriate to a wise man, — *nil admirari*, — to be surprised at nothing. Another axiom, of my own, will perhaps not be admitted by you to the extent I give it, viz., that the abilities of public men in England are very much upon a level, and that when they in their turn are called upon to guide the helm of state, they will all pretty nearly hold the same course, and only be carried some degrees quicker or slower down the irresistible stream of events, whose real direction comes, I hope, from above, and which no human force or contrivance can stem.

England is still what it has been many years, the first country in the world for maritime power, for financial and commercial resources, for a free and equal government, for moral principle, for the general belief of Christianity and religious practice of its most essential duties. With these advantages, I trust that our present set of governors will have it as much in their power as their predecessors, to profit of all the energies of a brave and generous nation in its own defence. However unimportant it may be to them, I can say with sincerity that they have equally my good wishes. My brother will soon finish his

* Mr. Hugh Elliot returned to England in 1802.

episode in the diplomatic line. The nomination of Paget as his successor* is not flattering to me, as being the senior minister now in the King's service. But I do not know whether I ought to repine at the many mortifications of this sort I have met with, as there are few foreign situations which pay themselves. For the good of the public service, I believe it would be better if Government did not so frequently put long and dear bought experience aside. Much of our misfortunes and disappointments, with respect to the conduct of our allies in this war, has, in my poor opinion, arisen from a mistaken selection of our own agents upon the continent.

Your ever affectionate, .

H. ELLIOT.

Lord Rosslyn to Lord Auckland.

Weymouth, Aug. 16th, 1801.

My dear Lord,—I could not execute Lady Auckland's commission till I found a fair opportunity of introducing the subject to which it belonged ; and as it did not press, I waited till it came round in the course of conversation. Her Majesty read the letter attentively and with interest. She spoke with great regard of the unfortunate Duchess†, and favourably of the manner of her eldest son.‡ Returning the letter to me, she desired that Lady Auckland would mention in her letter the interest her Majesty feels in all that concerns the Duchess of Orleans, and the esteem in which she holds her character.

Windham and I, who are the only persons here who talk politics together, are perfectly content with your plan of peace in its utmost extent, and we cannot afford to deal upon lower terms. I can, with perfect satisfaction, confirm to you all that you may have heard of their Majesties' perfect health. The King, I think, has at no time when I have had the means of seeing him every day and often all the day,

* At Vienna.

† Of Orleans.

‡ Louis Philippe.

appeared to be in so steady a state of health. He might at times appear to those who have always seen him in high spirits, to be rather low ; but the case really is, that his manner is much more composed, and he is always ready to enter into conversation when it is going on, though he does not always start it. He is become also more moderate in his exercise, and admits that it is possible to be fatigued.

Public events seem at present to give no occasion for uneasiness, and I trust they will continue in such a state as not to ruffle his mind, the composure of which is the great point on which the fate of our country depends.

The weather here is delightful for sailing, but rather too warm for any other exercise. I have not been able to fix any time for my stay, but I rather suppose the month will terminate my western expedition.

I give you sincere joy of all that the holidays bring within your happy circle. My love to all.

Yours ever, my dear Lord,

ROSSLYN.

Lord Auckland to Lord Clare.

(Quite private.)

Eden Farm, October 12th.

My dear Lord Clare, — If you were to draw your judgment from our consumption of crackers and tallow candles, you would infer that the peace* is very popular. But this is far from being the case. Much dissatisfaction is arising in the commercial body, and in the middle classes. I shall first explain what I mean by sending the enclosed letter solely for your own reading : it is written by one of my brothers, a very respectable and intelligent merchant, who has always been (without any view or wish of favour) most steadily attached to the King's Government. Have the goodness to return the letter to

* The preliminary treaty was signed October 1st.

me. I do not yet see that any of the attacks upon the articles have been levelled at the most vulnerable part: I mean the giving up of Malta, which was infinitely the most valuable of our conquests, and which, when once abandoned by us, is lost for ever to us, though at all times liable, as before, to be gained to France by intrigue. And thus we have exposed the Turkish empire, our Turkish and Italian trade, Egypt, the East Indies, &c. I deeply regretted this when I learnt that it was likely; but the necessity of making peace was thought to supersede all objections; and I believe it to be true that Mr. Pitt fully approved the terms prior to the signature, and that they had been discussed with him from time to time through the whole negotiation. I am almost afraid to hear what the King's private sentiments are. It is a crisis which I dread for him, and yet he will feel that his ministers must be maintained and defended in what they have done. They certainly had a choice only between great evils, and that choice was a result of the strange conduct of the late cabinet in the pretended dispute about the Catholic question.

You will have been amused by Mr. Fox's speech at his anniversary. The song immediately after the speech strikes my ear as peculiarly appropriate, "Flow, thou purple regal stream," meaning, I suppose, the claret, and not the royal rills of the guillotine.

The "Morning Post" asserts that at the house opposite to citizen Otto, there was a transparency of the ingenuous, good and benevolent Bonaparte, with an inscription, "The saviour of the universe." Here, also, the language was appropriate; anything short of blasphemy would have been a platitude.

Were you not ashamed of our *bêtes*, *badauds* and blackguards in changing themselves into coach-horses to drag the carriage of Bonaparte's aide-de-camp? *

* General Lauriston.

The poor Jacobin was as much alarmed as Jean de Brie, and suspected that he was going to suffer the fate of Jean de Brie's colleagues.*

I know nothing yet respecting the sentiments and public conduct of several individuals, whose names will occur to you on this occasion. But nothing is so bad (or so good) as it seems to be at first, and possibly the ministers may sail with tolerable success through the storm.

Lady Auckland's kindest compliments. Yours most sincerely,

AUCKLAND.

P.S. Lest you should not have seen Peter Porcupine's paper, which drew much attention, I will enclose it.

(Private.)

I believe that by some original explanation, the motions and business on the part of Government in the House of Lords will be conducted by Lord Pelham.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Dover Street, October 12th.

My dear Brother, — I saw the senseless rabble adoring Bonaparte's satellite†, and was never more hurt. To remove my bile I went a riding, but meeting Mr. Fawkener, the good effects of the jolting were more than counteracted by his remarks on the treaty and the events of the morning. They are best detailed in the "Morning Post," which I enclose: it will, notwithstanding your just indignation, amuse you. The "Porcupine,"‡ indignant, suspends his publication for a few days, and will then, having charged his quills with a sufficient quantity of venom, discharge them in a series of letters to Lord Hawkesbury.

* Murdered at Rastadt.

† General Lauriston.

‡ Cobbett's paper.

Preparations have been made to illuminate again this evening. I shall rejoice if the heavens, as on Saturday, interpose to keep the peace.

Lauriston's taking up his lodging in St. James's Street was not, I am convinced, the effect of chance—the mob appeared ready to obey any commands that he might have issued.

Adieu, ever your obliged and affectionate brother,
HENLEY.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Ham Common, October 14th, 1801.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I must fairly acknowledge, that having gratified my own feelings by writing the letter which you have seen, and which Mr. Addington enclosed to Lord Pelham, I am by no means sorry that the drudgery of the House of Lords is placed in Lord Pelham's* hands, and more especially, as in point of strict official propriety and practice (except in the instance of the Duke of Portland, and perhaps other exceptions that I know nothing of), it would seem to belong to the Home Department.

Since the Union the communication with and patronage of Ireland furnish an additional payment. I cannot, however, help adding that in Lord Pelham's situation I would not have made the claim.

After what passed at the cabinet yesterday it will be entirely the fault of my colleague if a new and better arrangement does not immediately take place in the administration of Irish affairs. In return for your enclosure I send one from Cooke received this day. It is beyond comment.

My blood, too, would have boiled at the reception of Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, if I had not known that there were a great many Jacobins in London, and that nothing could be more natural than for them

* Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, who succeeded the Duke of Portland, became the leader in the House of Lords.

to show their attachment to any man who had been sent to this country upon an occasion certainly not unfavourable to the French Government.

There certainly are some exceptions to the great and unbounded joy upon the peace; but I would ask these men (I do not mean such as Windham, whose passions are so deeply engaged that they would sacrifice everything to their gratification) whether, if they had been to decide upon peace or war, or the conditions upon which the former has been made, they would have ventured to take the latter alternative; and having made peace, I think it better at least to affect a belief in its permanency, although I might be prepared for a different result, than to put on the face of mystification and disappointment, and to suffer my mind to be tormented with the recollection of horrors which, to have punished effectually, would have been highly gratifying. But it being quite evident that the means were not in our power, to waste more blood and expend more treasure (if we had it), merely because we could not subdue our excitement at the abominations which had been practised in France, did not appear advisable upon a principle either of humanity or finance.

The question has long ago been brought to a question of terms—and the more we look at it in that light, fairly viewing all the circumstances of the case, the more likely we shall be to see it in its true and rational (if I may use the expression) colour.

Mr. Pitt did not dine at Lord Hawkesbury's on Sunday, or yesterday at Mr. Addington's, where I was of the company. General Lauriston was at both dinners. He is the son of a Mr. Law, who some years ago was governor of Pondicherry, where he was born. He is of a very dark complexion, and extremely like Lord Charles Fitzroy: his manners are not those of a Frenchman, being perfectly quiet and unaffected. He is said to be a good soldier, was *chef de brigade* of Horse Artillery, and distinguished himself particularly in the last Italian campaign.

Bonaparte has sent a most pressing and highly complimentary invitation to Lord Cornwallis* to go to Paris, on his way to Amiens, which will be accepted.

If Lord Grenville really means (which, *entre nous*, is strongly suspected) to take a part in the House of Lords against the peace, we shall be in great want of your assistance.

Ever yours affectionately,
HOBART.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Ham Common, Tuesday Night.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I send you the "Porcupine" of this day, which contains the republication of the strictures of yesterday upon the peace.

In my ride down I had a full conversation with Mr. Addington upon House of Lords' management, and stated all I felt upon the subject with perfect candour. His opinion was, that I should continue to exercise those functions which I had performed in the last session, and that I should write to the Irish Lords as he intended to do to the Commons.

Pray send me some names for addressers.

Mr. Addington seemed to think that Freeling was in habits of constant communication with his brother, and particularly upon the points you mentioned.

I was glad to learn that that the King is in good humour with the peace.

Ever yours affectionately,
HOBART.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential and secret.)

Downing Street, Oct. 16th, 1801.

My dear Lord, — The enclosed, which I must request you would return to me immediately, removes

* Lord Cornwallis negotiated the Treaty of Amiens.

all doubt respecting Lord Grenville's* intentions, and makes it absolutely necessary that we should call all hands upon the first day of the session.

Your assistance upon the occasion will be of great importance, and I hope you are making the best case for us you can, notwithstanding some struggles which I am aware it must cost you.

Affectionately yours,

HOBART.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Ham Common, October 17th, 1801.

My dear Lord Auckland, — My intimation respecting Lord Grenville was certainly meant seriously, and to the full as seriously as you could have understood it. The importance of the conduct you may pursue upon the subject of the peace, I consider twofold. First: with a view to the assistance its supporters would derive from the exertion of your talents and information; and, secondly: considering the part you have taken upon all questions of that nature, the decided disapprobation which your silence would imply. My situation as Secretary of State, my thorough acquiescence in the necessity and propriety of the preliminaries of peace, and my determination to declare my opinion to that effect in the most unequivocal manner I can, unavoidably must involve so much of my personal credit in the success of the measure (that although I may be at liberty to say a few words with respect to those motives of private credit, or public duty, which you may feel upon the occasion), I consider myself precluded from discussing the *personal satisfaction* by which you might be actuated in giving it your support.

Upon the subject of *private credit*, I can, with perfect sincerity, assure you of my thorough conviction, that the part you might take in resisting Lord Gren-

* Lord Grenville's opposition to the peace chiefly rested on the non-renewal of Mr. Eden's treaty of 1787, respecting the East Indies.

ville's attempt to depreciate the Government, could not fail of raising you in the public estimation, and, more especially, as it is an occasion upon which you cannot be supposed not to have formed an opinion; and, having formed one, it becomes a sort of *public duty* to declare and support it.

I do not enter into the subject either of Mr. Pitt's or Mr. Addington's conduct towards you, except to say, that if that of the latter is to govern yours, you may be under no difficulty in finding in it a sufficient justification for your imposing a strict silence upon yourself; and, perhaps, I ought not to say, lest it should operate as an additional inducement, that he came into my room when I was writing to you yesterday, and expressed great anxiety upon the subject of your active support.

I am very much obliged to you for your wish respecting information. Hints of that sort you may always take for granted cannot be superfluous, and I have written to have the accounts prepared. I know nothing of the particular ground upon which Mr. Pitt intends to rest his defence of the peace; but I know the part he is to take in favour both of the convention* at St. Petersburg and the preliminary treaty with France will be of the most decided nature, and that his conduct will form a contrast to that of Lord Grenville's that will not be very creditable to the latter.

I never had much reliance on the continuance of Lord Grenville's support, but always thought it of essential service so long as we could keep it.

Ever yours affectionately,

HOBART.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, 19th October.

To be sure you are the last man from whom I expected such *marked* inattention to my excellent re-

* Negotiated by Lord St. Helens.

marks on the deficiency of grain, &c. Look to page 60, and you will see the whole passage you recommend quoted from Hume.

I feel much annoyed by the senseless levity of the public expression, so ridiculously and extravagantly in favour of peace, although I must approve it as necessary. Rejoicing began before the terms were known, and has continued, without the slightest consideration of the consequences of establishing, perhaps, the inordinate and frightfully overgrown power of France. The few rational men with whom I converse or correspond, and are capable of forming a judgment, shudder. The rejoicing, however, is so general, as to be a proof of how completely the nation was tired of the war, and for peace on any terms. Considering circumstances, and that the object of the war was virtually at an end, I doubt whether ministers would have been justified in declining terms as glorious and honourable to the French as they are the contrary to us. We sacrifice so many conquests for a peace which gives no security in future. We have yielded every point and every principle. We have given up everything without any return from France; and, what I deeply feel, we give up a situation, in respect to preponderance in possessions and in naval force, which we never shall again possess. I am, perhaps, less gratified than others, by retaining Ceylon and Trinidad, because I abhor the extension of our possessions in the east and in the west, except for the purpose of preservation and of counteracting France. The Prince of Wales's Island in the East is more convenient for our naval force than Ceylon; and I see no great advantage in adding Trinidad to our possessions, while we hold so many West India islands not half cultivated. Our foreign territories already draw too much of our capital from agriculture and better purposes.

There are those who wished the continuance of the war, that the French might make the experiment of invasion and thereby incur destruction, and conse-

quently we might have a better peace. I do not feel bold enough to risk such an experiment, although it might be an hundred to one in our favour. The success of Bonaparte's enterprise with a fugitive army which ended in the battle of Marengo, and of our desperate invasion of Egypt, were not more improbable than a French army landing in force in Great Britain and Ireland.

I hope we shall maintain somewhat of the principle of the Alien Act,—a principle on which all nations act. If the Jacobins should again prevail in France, they will endeavour to inoculate or introduce their principles, and we may not be able then to revive the Alien Act without risking another war with France.

As I must go to London on the 29th to approve the peace and to vote money, I may hope to find you there.

Most truly yours,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Ham Common, Saturday night.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I return Lord Clare's letter, and am truly sorry that the conduct of the Irish Government* towards him should have been such as to provoke the resentment he seems to feel. In depreciating and disgusting him, they have certainly mistaken the interests both of the existing administration and of the public, but he is totally incorrect in supposing that Mr. Addington approves, much less abets, what he calls the insolence of Mr. Abbot*; and however chargeable he may be with having committed the original error of appointing that gentleman to the secretaryship, Lord Clare ought to know how difficult it is to remove him when he is once fairly in possession.

* Lord Hardwicke was Lord Lieutenant; the Irish Secretary was Mr. Abbot.

No man can lament all this more than I do; for can any one have taken more pains (though it is in a great degree out of the line of my particular duty) than I have, to produce the proper feeling upon this subject,—being aware that it must, sooner or later, be productive of considerable mischief; though, perhaps, not quite so much as Lord Clare supposes.

Had he written to me to the same effect as he has done to you, I should have advised him to write *temperately* either to Mr. Addington or to Lord Pelham, for the purpose of claiming the attentions due to his high office; and, had I been Lord Clare, I would have desired that my letter should be laid before the King, in order that his Majesty might be apprised that a distrust of me on the part of the Lord-Lieutenant, and not an abatement of zeal in the service of his Government, had occasioned my not being in those habits of confidential communication to which I had been accustomed, and to which I considered myself entitled, from the situation in which I had been placed.

Something of this kind I should be much inclined to express; and, having done so, (if without effect,) I should discharge the duties of the Court of Chancery with all the diligence and application they require, and totally exonerate myself from all the plague and vexation of politics.

You will observe that my opinion does not essentially differ from yours upon this point, but it is more particularly meant to apply to his (Lord Clare's) individual situation, than to that of any other person.

It was not, however, possible for me so far to misunderstand your letter, as not to discover, that the idea you meant to impress on Lord Clare's mind, was one, which had made its impression much nearer home; and I must candidly say, that the conduct to which it alludes, strikes me as the most unwise and extraordinary of any thing I have ever met with; though it is not difficult to foresee who must be the sufferer

by it. Under such a combination of circumstances, "to wait" is unquestionably the soundest policy, because there is nothing that can be done by way of remedy, that would be either useful or dignified. Every day's experience shows us how much "little motives will work on great minds," and we also as frequently observe how much great minds are obliged to bend. But I will not pursue this unpleasant topic, though I can assure you it has cost me many an uncomfortable moment.

Ever yours most affectionately,
HOBART.

Lord Auckland to Lord Rosslyn.

(Private.)

Eden Farm, October 28th.

My dear Lord, — I understand that you are not yet coming to town; and if a longer stay at Bath can contribute to your health, I shall be glad that you have that benefit, in addition to the advantage of not being present at a very mortifying and painful debate. I shall go to the House to-morrow, merely to hear what may pass there, and to give my silent vote of thanks (together with the Duke of Marlborough's proxy) for his Majesty's communication that he has concluded preliminaries "honourable to the British character." An odd sort of a laboured phrase, certainly! and not quite so musical to an English ear as the plain old adjectives, "safe, honourable, and advantageous."

After all, though I groan under the triumphs of rebellion, regicide, ruffianism, and atheism; though I look with shame at the gratuitous cession of our conquests (and, above all, of Malta); though I contemplate, with confusion, the thralldom of Holland, Flanders, Switzerland, and Italy; and though I am indignant at our wretched silence respecting the interests and indemnities of the House of Orange — a silence which no possible explanation can justify; and, finally, though I do not scruple to say to you that the

whole concoction of the preliminaries is, in my opinion, a work of supreme incompetence; I still conceive it to be best, under all the circumstances, that the transaction should not be exposed.

This, however, is not the opinion of Lord Grenville, who has declared his intention to attack it. He will also discuss the Russian treaty, which is evidently grounded on a Russian *projet*, and on the principles of the armed neutrality.

Lord St. Helens, in vainly endeavouring to correct and qualify those principles, may be argued to have given the *cabotage* of all the French coast to Russian vessels; to have made *all* search of *any* vessels under Baltic convoy a direct contravention of the treaty; to have established that naval stores can in no case be deemed contraband, if carried as the property of neutral subjects; and to have opened a claim for neutral ships to trade with the enemy's colonies.

Still, however, the mass of our good countrymen is in love with the word "peace," to a degree of blindness and enthusiasm, that perhaps if it had been possible to propose more dangerous and degrading articles, both in the Russian and French transactions, the whole would have passed by acclamation; and you will see that Mr. Pitt will have quite galloping ground to-morrow in galloping over the brains and bowels of the speech which he made on the 3rd of February, 1800, on the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures. I was afraid, when I began to mention this subject, that I should not know how to stop.

In other respects we are all happy and well here. The Osbornes* (including our grandson) have been with us about a fortnight, and the Hobarts left us this morning.

Believe me, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,
AUCKLAND.

* Lord Francis Osborne, afterwards Lord Godolphin, married, 31st of March, 1800, Lord Auckland's daughter, Charlotte.

Lord Rosslyn to Lord Auckland.

Bath, January 1st, 1802.

My dear Lord, — It is a very unexpected satisfaction to me to be able to convey to you and all yours my best wishes for a happy new year. The last I had reason to think, and did so, would have closed* my correspondence, without much regret on my part, except what arose from the kind concern of my family and friends. My recovery, if my physicians do not flatter, will be such as to give no cause of regret, either to myself or to those who care for me; on any other terms I shall endure it, I trust, with due resignation, but it will be no subject for congratulation.

The summary of the past year does not afford a very pleasant recollection. The first six months were full of anxiety and trouble; the three last, though ushered in by acclamations, for what the people were led to call *peace*, were not the most propitious period of our history. Thinking as you do upon that occurrence, I should, however, have found no fault with it. Those who transacted it did their best, I have no doubt; but they lay under such disadvantages, that no member of the former cabinet, at least, had a right to censure their work.

I have learnt, from the talk of my physicians, a distinction in the science of medicine, between *pre-disposing* and *efficient* causes, which will explain my meaning to you. Those only who had made a glorious war could have made a glorious peace, and consequently a *secure* one. When they withdrew from the task, their successors must make such a peace as they could.

Lord St. Helens' treaty has no such excuse, and, if I am not much mistaken, he must have been possessed of the precise words in which the former cabinet would have concluded that business with ease in his situation.

* Lord Rosslyn had been long dangerously ill.

Writing is not yet a familiar habit to me. I have not been permitted to sit upright above three days, and with a great desire to scribble, I must leave off. My ladies desire me, however, to include their best wishes to you and yours. — Yours ever,

ROSSLYN.

Lord Auckland to Lord Rosslyn.

Eden Farm, January 11th, 1802.

My dear Lord, — This weather is not favourable to your convalescence. I infer, however, from the accounts of others, as well as from your letter of the 1st instant, that you may be considered as completely "*hors d'affaire*." I also trust that you may be arriving at a better prospect of confirmed health, than if you had not been subjected to the late painful and perilous risk.

I wish that I could look with equal cheerfulness to the state of our friend Lord Clare.* His spirits have failed; his whole system seems to be deranged; and there is reason to fear that he has, or will have, water in the chest. I have urged him to come, if possible, to London, where he would have better advice than in Ireland. He is now at his country house near to Dublin, but will not see his friends.

In the chapter of human infirmity and anxiety, I should also mention Mrs. Charles Ellis, with whom my four daughters have lived many years in a daily and affectionate communication, exactly as if she were a sister. We saw her very lately at Claremont, when she was apparently well, and was adjusting her new dressing-room, library, nursery, and all the details of a long course of domestic happiness.

I am glad to make a set-off against those two last paragraphs, by telling you that the Archbishop, who has just returned from a week's residence at Windsor Castle, gives me a most satisfactory account of the established health of the good King.

* Lord Clare died Jan. 28th, 1802.

I do not know, nor do I seek to learn, any news beyond what I collect from our newspapers, and from the *Moniteur*. In the latter, and in some long and curious debates on the project of a new code of law, I see that the First Consul, who entered much into the discussion, experienced (and deserved) abundant contradiction from Pastoret, Tranchet, Cambacérés, Emery, and others, and at last peevishly abandoned the whole enterprise. He surprised me in adopting the democratic doctrine of divorces, "pour incompatibilité d'humeur et par consentement mutuel."

I do not know what occasions the delay at Amiens. It is so much the interest of France to get the early possession of all our sacrifices, that I wonder at any hesitation respecting points of very inferior importance; and there are no other, except indeed the arrangement of Malta. Mr. Cameron writes to me, that the article has occasioned much irritation among the Maltese, who protest with extreme violence that they will resist all attempts to restore the government of the religion. It is possible that an instruction may have been sent to Lord Cornwallis respecting the Treaty of Madrid. Mr. Addington, in answer to a question from Mr. Windham, said, positively, that the Treaty of Badajoz was to have effect only with respect to the Portuguese boundary in South America. But the orator of the French Government specifically stated the contrary, and the legislature specifically voted the contrary.

I have seen nothing of Mr. Pitt. Last week Mr. Long made me a visit of two or three hours: I collected from him that Mr. Pitt is well and in health, and apparently in good spirits.

I understand that preparations are well advanced for his budget. If Mr. Addington can resist the wish to gain a little short-lived popularity, his financial test will not be difficult, even if he should ultimately decide to give up the income-tax. I incline to that decision, and if he be rightly advised, the difficulties to which it would lead are not material. I shall

lament any attempt to give up the salt-tax. It will be a derangement of a million sterling *per annum*, for no adequate purpose. Our friend Hatsell is bit by that project, and I am sorry for it.

My son William, upon entering into his twentieth year on the 19th of this month, will be appointed to the private secretaryship of Lord Hobart's office. As an object of emolument it is trifling (£300); but, as an introduction to official habits and information, under the affectionate inspection of Lord Hobart, and with such friends as Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Grenville Pen, he will have great advantages. I should have been better pleased if he had been two years older; but I did not think myself at liberty to refuse. The Dean of Christchurch, who has the highest opinion of William, will assist me in keeping up his classical pursuits.

I am, my dear Lord, ever most sincerely yours,
AUCKLAND.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Lady Auckland.

Monday.

I am much obliged to Emily for the paper shoe, and, as a reward for the trouble she had in making it, I beg she will read the story of "Cinderella, or the Glass Slipper," which used to entertain me exceedingly when I had the advantage of being as young, though not so good, as the wise little girl of Eden Farm.

As to myself I am sorry to say that I can report no progress in the settlement of my business. Notwithstanding the constant state of dissipation, which ought to drown care, and in which I daily live, my anxiety about myself and my children increases, and I long to know my fate. I have seen the Prince at Lady Melbourne's, who was, as usual, very gracious; but I fear I must still go to Brighton, before I can either finally accept or decline the commission for my son.

The Goddess of Good-nature, the Duchess of Devonshire, is very kind, and her house pleasant, though I must confess it is a strange *rassemblement* of young men and old ladies.

Your affectionate brother,

H. ELLIOT.

P.S. The tide of public opinion seems now to run strong in favour of ministers. The Grenvilles will find it difficult to send themselves again up stairs and into the drawing-room, as everybody consents with great patience to leave them where they are. I suspect my brother means, one of these days, *to let off something in the House of Lords, which he might as well keep to himself*. I cannot conceive anything more absurd than to call for war and expence, when all the world, except the chosen few, are desirous of peace and plenty.

CHAP. XLIII.

Discussion between Mr. Addington and Lord Auckland. — Debate in the House of Lords respecting the Treaty of Amiens. — Letter of the King to the Princess of Orange. — The King takes in Cobbett's Paper. — State of Affairs at the Hague. — Lord Rosslyn's Health. — Emmett's Rebellion. — His Execution.

LORD MACAULAY states, in his "Life of Pitt," that Mr. Addington "was under a delusion, much resembling that of Abon Hassan in the Arabian tale. His brain was turned by his short and unreal caliphate. He took his elevation quite seriously, attributed it to his own merit, and considered himself as one of the great triumvirate of English statesmen, as worthy to make a third with Pitt and Fox." Probably this delusion will account for his extraordinary conduct to Lord Auckland, who, acceding to the request of Lord Hobart, had spoken, on the 4th of May, warmly against the idea that the non-renewal of the India Treaty of 1786 was prejudicial to England; but having on the 5th expressed strong regret at the definitive article relating to the Orange family, he, to his great surprise, received the following letter:—

Mr. Addington to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, May 7th, 1802.

My Lord, — It was with great surprise and concern that I learnt (as I did yesterday, from a member of the House of Lords) the sentiments expressed, in Wednesday's debate, by your Lordship, on the subject of the definitive treaty of peace. This information has necessarily led me to suppose that it cannot be the wish or intention of your Lordship to con-

tinue to hold an office connected with a government, of whose conduct you have publicly declared your disapprobation upon an occasion so important.

I have only to add, that there are considerations which render this communication so painful to me, that I should abstain from making it, if they were not overruled by others, which appear to me to admit of no alternative.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY ADDINGTON.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Addington.

Palace Yard, Thursday evening, May 7th, 1802.

Sir, — I have this moment received your letter; and, whatever surprise and concern you may have felt, it cannot equal my surprise and concern at learning that what I said on the occasion of last Wednesday's debate in the House of Lords can have been represented to you as "a public and decided disapprobation of the conduct of his Majesty's Government." I certainly said, that the definitive article, respecting the House of Orange is not consonant to my wishes and feelings, either in substance or in expression. And I say so still. I added, that those feelings were excited by a just and honourable sense of the testimony which is peculiarly and personally due from me respecting the sufferings and the losses of the Princess of Orange, her family, and adherents, in their faithful attachment to our cause.

But I stated at the same time, and (as I thought) with a marked respect for the King's Government, that, in the construction of separate articles, much indulgence is to be given to the negotiator, who, in so complicated a transaction, with parties having adverse views and interests, must make concessions in return for concessions, in order to procure the best result in his power. I never have learnt from any of my friends, nor even from newspaper statements

(so far as I have seen any) that the substance of what was uttered by me could convey to any sensible and candid mind impressions different from what was my fair meaning, or different from what I have here attempted to express, or inconsistent with the disposition which I have shown, to stand forwards in a question of the highest importance.

It seems superfluous to add, that it cannot have been "my wish or intention not to continue to hold my office." But, if you think it for the benefit of his Majesty's Government to signify to me his Majesty's pleasure that I should consider myself as dismissed from his service, it will become me to submit to the misconstruction with that devoted attachment and unbounded deference which I have borne to his Majesty during a period of thirty years' service, always in circumstances unfavourable to the interests of my family, and often in situations of great labour, risk, responsibility, representation, and confidence.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Grosvenor Place, May 7th, 11.45 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I never was more surprised, or indeed more hurt, than at your communication of this night,—so much so that I really know not what to say upon the subject.

Fortunately, I had some conversation with the Chancellor* (with whom I walked as far as Covent Garden on my way to the play), respecting what you had said the other night; and I am very much mistaken if he had any impression upon his mind such as would seem to have been made upon Mr. Addington.

Your answer appears to me perfectly correct, and I unquestionably should leave the business completely

* Lord Eldon.

in Mr. Addington's hands, to act as he may think best for his Majesty's service. I am, however, incapable at this moment of offering any opinion to which I can consider myself justified to trust, being more mortified and vexed than I can by any means describe.

Ever most affectionately yours,
HOBART.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, May 8th, 1 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland, — The enclosed from Mr. Addington enabled me to call upon him for the purpose of entering upon the subject of his letter to you, and I shall, therefore, wish to speak to you on your way home.

You will conjecture, however, that I have not a great deal to say when I tell you that *he professed* not having the resolution to open your letter, being very nervous after the debate of last night, and adding, that he would not open it until after I left him; by which I understood that he was not then prepared to say what he meant to do. He was particularly anxious that the subject should not be mentioned to any person, except two, whom he named to me as acquainted with it, and particularly said that Lord Pelham was unacquainted with the transaction. I therefore must beg of you, under present circumstances, to say nothing of it *to anybody*. I told him that, as he had not communicated with me upon the subject, I had determined, but for his letter, never to open my lips to him respecting it, but wishing indirectly to convey my sentiments, and, considering Mr. Hatsell a mutual friend, I had this morning been with him, and had shown him the letters.

Affectionately yours,
HOBART.

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Queen Street, Westminster, May 14th, 1802.

May I, my Lord, presume to close a lingering twenty-four hours of aching bones and great weariness, in consequence of being for fifteen hours on my legs among the strangers in your House, Thursday and yesterday (four of which were spent under the unpleasant circumstances of being jostled among the mob of eager auditors till I am black and blue all over), to close the period with a note to your Lordship? I see clearly that your hands had been full of preparation against the important day, but I am heartily glad it is over with so much credit to ministers.

Lord Ellenborough will be a powerful recruit; but some friend should hint to him that his manner of opening wants decorum. He seized upon Lord Grenville like a bull-dog at the animal's baiting for the amazement of beings not less brutish than the poor animal himself. It reminded me of the late Mr. John Lee cross-examining an artful witness, from whom he could not readily extort the truth, though he knew the man under cross-examination was in possession of it. Surely a statesman like Lord Grenville, under the roof of the House of Lords, was entitled to a more polished style of reply; but lawyers so rapidly raised to high station cannot on the sudden forget their *nisi prius* manners. Lord Ellenborough, when he calmed the burst of his opening, reasoned well, though he must have made two strange errors, when Lord Rosslyn and Lord Eldon (the Chancellor) found it necessary to answer the same part of his argument — that about the honour due to the British flag, and the importance attached to national treaties of peace. You are aware that Lord Ellenborough has a ready avenue to oriental knowledge as to political revolutions in Asia—

his brother, Mr. Ewan Law, a man, like himself, by no means destitute of good abilities.

I deem your Lordship's speech (though not as much at length as I am satisfied your Lordship meant to deliver it, if occasion had served,) as important as any that occurred. It is an admirable illustration of Mr. Dundas's admirable speech in the Commons of the preceding day. I read Mr. Dundas's speech yesterday evening, and I never, I think, recollect an *argumentum ad rem* better put. It is, to use his own phrase, "as clear as the sun at noonday," that to have mentioned the claim of Great Britain to the right of sovereignty in India and the navigation of its seas," in the definitive treaty, would have been to have weakened and enfeebled that right.

As I may now say, *nunc tua res agitur*, may I intreat the favour of you to oblige me with a copy of your speech on Thursday night, and I shall be extremely obliged to you, additionally, if you can recollect the distance of leagues, or rather degrees, that Lord Hobart stated to be the distance from the mouth of the River Amazon and Rio Janeiro. I have no map of South America on a large scale to instruct me. His Lordship quoted an authority which Lord Grenville said he would not admit; I think it was Mr. Fuller. *Condamine's Tour* I perfectly recollect as one authority Lord Hobart quoted.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant,

W. WOODFALL.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, August 11th, 1802.

My dear Lord Auckland, — Bonaparte * has certainly thrown away the scabbard, and, I should conceive, will find himself more secure than if he had left such a semblance of liberty as would have en-

* Bonaparte was appointed consul for life on August 2nd.

couraged discussion enough to teach the French that the reality of it had been annihilated.

The French may now contemplate the advantages they have gained by exchanging the Bourbons for the Bonapartes, the ancient for the new order of nobility, and the Bastille for the Temple.

With respect to the people of this country, they have a fine lesson, if they will study it, of the enjoyment of revolutionary struggles, the reign of Jacobinism, and "the happy issue out of all their afflictions."

It is not, however, our business either to render the French dissatisfied with their situation, or to goad Bonaparte into a quarrel with us upon personal grounds. Under that impression, I read with serious dissatisfaction the very mischievous publication in the "True Briton" of yesterday, repeated, I take for granted, in the "Sun" of last night, because it must have been obvious to the editor of that paper, that it would not be possible, all circumstances considered, to persuade Bonaparte that the language he held was as disagreeable to the Government as I am sure it ought to be.

If we are to renew the war with France, let it be for a great political object; but nothing, in my opinion, can be so impolitic or so wicked as to hazard the interruption of peace by newspaper invectives against the Government of France.

If the Duchess of Gordon had never talked of her daughter's and the late Duke of Bedford's attachment to each other, she would have done well; but, after all that has been said, I do not think she judged ill in bringing about some sort of explanation with the present* Duke.

Will you tell William I forgot to mention to him that I was to be in town yesterday, and that I wish him to be at the office on Friday, between eleven and twelve. Affectionately yours,

HOBART.

* John, 6th Duke of Bedford, married secondly, 23rd June, 1803, Lady Georgiana Gordon.

*Copie de la lettre de S. M. le Roi d'Angleterre à
S. A. R. la Princesse d'Orange.**

Weymouth, le 30th Août, 1802.

Ma très-chère Cousine, — J'ai reçu votre lettre au moment de votre départ de ce pays ; il n'y a de jour qu'ici nous parlons de vous, et nous vous sommes véritablement très-attachés. Je suis très-charmé du choix que vous avez fait des Trustees. Liston, qui va d'ici comme Ministre en Hollande, a mes ordres très-express de soutenir aucune demande que le Prince d'Orange fera à cette République pour les domaines et les autres biens, agréable au traité d'Amiens, et à celui que le Roi de Prusse a fait avec la République Française. Au reste je suis et serai toujours, ma chère cousine, votre très-affectionné cousin,

(Signé) GEORGE R.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, September 7th.

My dear Brother, — I received this morning your letter of yesterday, and the paper which you directed Mr. Freeling to forward to me, and which I now enclose. I thank you for both of them. (Of the latter I had an immediate opportunity of making the use that you proposed, and he remarked that we should be gainers by the Consul's persevering in his ill-humour, and that, of course, no person would be admitted at Dover without proper certificates.

† He mentioned your being a trustee for the Princess of Orange in the grant to be made her, and expressed great satisfaction at the termination of that business, which had given him much trouble, and added that in the letter which you lately forwarded from him to her he had assured her that Liston had

* In the handwriting of M. Fagel.

† The King. 60,000*l.* was granted to the Princess of Orange by the Government, which was placed in the hands of three trustees, Lords Pelham, Malmesbury, and Auckland.

instructions to support the Prince's claims for the restitution of his private property. These orders (*entre nous*) have been extorted from Lord Hawkesbury; for Liston, when he went to Weymouth, said that his instructions were silent on the subject, and asked the royal commands, begging that they might be inserted as his instructions, which was approved and ordered, but still not done, being put into a despatch (a public one, for I asked the question, and consequently we did not see the distinction), but his Lordship has political lights that we have not.

General Lannes' quarrel was merely personal, and sought for by him as a pretext to quit his post. On his arrival in France, instead of continuing his journey hither to join his wife, the Consul put him under arrest.

I do not learn that France and Russia have entered into any new engagements, but have consented that the old ones should be continued for their remaining term, to which the years that they were suspended should be added. Our commercial negotiation proceeds very slowly.

Mr. Canning is not gone to Walmer Castle, but to a small house in the neighbourhood that Mr. Pitt has lent him. This I learnt on Sunday from Mr. Wilson, Mr. Pitt's old tutor, and with whom I was so much pleased that I shall soon go and see him at Binfield.

Ever your obedient and affectionate brother,

HENLEY.

P.S. Are the Hopes all returned to settle anew in Holland?

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

September 16th, 6 p.m.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I have only time to write you a line to say, that for the present, we have determined to take no step respecting Malta, being inclined to hold it as long as we can.

Mrs. Fox was not presented to Madame Bonaparte, only because her gown was not ready.

Arthur O'Connor dined and supped with Fox at Calais, and travelled with Lord Oxford to Paris.

Lady Holland is deep in political intrigue, and means for the *preservation of peace* to make it necessary that Fox should be in power.

Talleyrand has married his mistress to be prepared to receive the Duchess of Dorset.*

Love to all at Eden Farm.

Affectionately yours,
HOBART.

Mr. Fagel† to Lord Auckland.

The Hague, Friday, September 24th, 1802.

My dear Lord,—The continual bustle in which I have lived since my arrival in this country, has prevented me from writing to you as soon as I had wished. I suppose you received my short note from St. Omer. After it was sent to the post I saw one of the first objects that made a strong and very disagreeable impression upon me; it was the ruins of a very fine Gothic church, formerly the *Abbaye de St. Bertin*. The architecture put me in mind of Westminster Abbey; it could not be much inferior to it when entire. It is now nothing but a heap of stones; the ceiling in great part taken away, and the interior filled with rubbish, quite over-grown with grass. This magnificent building was in the best preservation only a few years ago, when the Revolution broke out. It looks now like the ruins of Fountain or Kirkstall Abbey, in Yorkshire. We afterwards saw so many similar sights that they became less striking. In almost all the principal towns of French Flanders, the churches are in the same condition. They are now repairing some, in which mass is celebrated, but even these look more like stables than churches, the pavement having been taken away. Mr. Liston

* Widow of the Duke of Dorset, who married in April 1801, Lord Whitworth, now ambassador at Paris.

† The Greffier.

told me the other day that in a small inn, near Compiègne (I believe), they found a gallery and the kitchen paved with grave-stones, on which the inscriptions were still quite legible; and upon their expressing their disgust to the housemaid, she acknowledged that it would have been quite as well to turn these stones the other way. We passed through Ghent and Antwerp. The former looks very melancholy and dull; the latter, a little less so, I thought, than it did formerly; but, notwithstanding the boasting of the French about the restoration of the trade of Antwerp, we discovered only three or four ships of a middling size in the harbour, and nothing like the appearance of activity nor bustle.

Having seen so many shocking things in Flanders, I was rather pleased with the first sight of this country. The villages through which we passed on our way to Rotterdam, have lost little of that air of neatness and cleanliness which used to distinguish them. Rotterdam seemed as flourishing as ever, and on the road from thence to the Hague, we found everything nearly as we had been used to see it, except that you meet with infinitely less carriages on the roads. We went round about and through (to my house in your country), the *maison du bois*, as I wished to avoid passing through the Hague.

You may easily imagine that I was much affected on reaching (what I can hardly call), my own home. I can't say that I found my place entirely out of repair; but yet, the difference between what it formerly was and what it now is, was great and striking. During the three or four first days I could not prevail upon myself to go to the Hague at all; however, at last, I determined to go there, and I have since been almost daily walking through the streets and visiting some old acquaintance. Here the change is quite shocking in every respect; and though I have now been nearly a fortnight in this country, I am not yet used to it, and I don't think that I could ever reconcile myself to what I daily see and hear. The

alteration is not so great in the external appearance of things as in the things themselves, and in the persons of those one meets with; people who used to be civil and friendly, now affecting not to know you; others alarmed at being seen in your company, and avoiding you; men who were formerly in affluent circumstances reduced to extreme poverty; others quite worn out by distress, and grown old and infirm before the time; and above all this, such a number of new faces and strange people, that when you walk through the Hague you hardly meet now and then with two or three persons you know.

I was surprised at the number of beggars and poor people in the streets. Mr. Liston, who has now been nearly ten or twelve days at the Hague, never gets into his carriage, which is a very plain one, and has nothing remarkable about it, without being surrounded by a crowd of people, who stare at him as if they had never seen an Englishman nor a carriage in their lives, and the greatest part of whom are sturdy beggars, who thrust their hands into the carriage in order to obtain something. Most people of fortune, of whom the Hague still contains a great number, are in the country; when they come back the parties and assemblies for the winter season will begin, but they will necessarily be stiff and formal, as there is no sort of confidence between the different parties, out of which society is composed here. Till now, the Orange party have kept entirely among themselves, without visiting either the opposite party or the foreign ministers, as these were all French, or under the immediate influence of France. This cannot go on in the same way, as Mr. Liston will be obliged to associate with the other members of the *corps diplomatique*, and with the people of the country of both parties. All those who have seen him and Mrs. Liston are pleased with them, and I have no doubt of their being generally liked in this country. Among the other foreign ministers, the Spanish is very well spoken of. His name is Anduaga. He is an

elderly man, according to what I have been told, for I have not seen him; and he and his wife are said to be very good domestic people. The Portuguese minister, M. de Bezeira, is also said to be a sensible man. The French ambassador, Semonville, is not yet arrived, but daily expected. The Imperial and Prussian ministers are not yet come. Mr. Liston still occupies apartments in the ——* a house you may remember in front of the Voorhout. He has not yet taken a house, and seems disposed to pass the winter where he now is. Several members of the old Government have accepted employments under the present; they are approved by some, and very much blamed by the greatest number of those attached to the House of Orange. I am sure that some of them have accepted of these places from the best motives; but the principal objection to the line of conduct they have adopted is, that they can do no good, as the other party have, of course, a decided majority, and that they are obliged to give up in a great measure their old and long-tried connexions, and to associate with persons of very indifferent characters, to say the least.

I have hitherto met with no personal insult nor difficulty, and I have every reason to believe that the Government will take no notice of my stay in this country. I have not yet seen any of the present rulers, and if it is not necessary, I do not mean to visit them, except, perhaps, the Secretary of State for foreign affairs, Van der Goes, to whom I have been advised to pay a visit. I am so disgusted with everything I see, that I shall make my stay as short as possible; at the same time I am determined to avail myself of this opportunity, which may not present itself so soon again, to settle my affairs. These I have found, as I expected, in a state of confusion, of which it is difficult to form an idea. I may, however, give you some, my dear Lord, by telling you that my papers, having been seized several years ago, as you

* Illegible.

may remember, have been so completely dispersed, that hardly any person knows where they are, and that even if the present administration had the will to restore them to me, it is difficult to say whether they would have the power. This is the more unfortunate for me, as there were among these papers several documents relating to my property, by the loss of which the value of the property itself is materially affected. I am going to dispose, by public sale, of my house at the Hague, and very probably, also, after some time, of my house in the country, as I don't think it likely that I shall ever reside on this side of the water. All these arrangements will necessarily take up much of my time, and I do not think I shall be able to return to England before the end of next month, or the beginning of November.

I have had great pleasure, as you may suppose, in seeing my family again, after so long an absence. My sisters are very well, and desire to be kindly remembered to Lady Auckland and your daughters. I beg you would have the goodness to mention to Lady Auckland that they have not yet received their gowns. As I was afraid of the custom-house officers at Calais, I left them in London, to be forwarded by the first opportunity. I shall not fail to inquire about the articles that belonged to poor Lord Henry Spencer; but I am much afraid that it will be a very difficult matter to find them out again, among what I may call, properly enough, *the ruins* of my property.

Yours, &c.,

H. FAGEL.

P.S. The *maison du bois* is little altered outwardly, but as it seems to be uninhabited, it looks dull and very melancholy. The pictures in the inside have not yet been taken away. The French ambassador, Semonville, lives in the house you occupied. Mr. Liston has some thoughts of taking the house in the *petit Voorhout*, where Lord Dover lived, and which was, in your time, occupied by Caillard.

Lord Auckland to Lord Rosslyn.

Eden Farm, October 9th.

My dear Lord,—We are sorry to hear that you are suffering under the gout; but as it is with you a sort of periodical payment which does not impoverish you, we trust that, as usual, you will step out of your Merlin's chair in full activity of mind and person. We had entertained some hopes of seeing you here whilst the fine weather lasted. We should also have been glad to make a visit to Baylis, and to have paid our duty at Windsor; but we cannot afford to indulge ourselves in all our wishes, and, therefore, with the exception of two or three short visits to Roehampton and Gogmagog*, we have resided entirely at this place. We are likely to remain here till the middle of February. Our two sons are with us, and contribute much to the cheerfulness of our society. William passes three or four mornings of the week at his desk in Downing Street. George returns to Christchurch at the end of next week.

I have thought more of my peach trees, which have been prosperous beyond example, than of the great political interests, which have become a painful speculation,

“Under such hard conditions as this time
Is like to lay upon them.”

After all, our circumstances, relatively considered, are better than I expected them to be, after the strange and forced explosion of the King's Government in 1801. The pacification, with all its bitter conditions, was, perhaps, from that hour, unavoidable, in despite of all our successes in the Baltic and in Egypt. The worst part of the story is, that the self-confidence and self-opinion of the country are much enfeebled, and the overwhelming pride of our neighbours is proportionably strengthened.

* Lord Francis Osborne's.

The transactions in Switzerland are interesting; but the poor Swiss must submit to the mandate of the little great man,

“Who doth bestride this narrow world like a Colossus.”

In the mean time our interior is going on well. The harvests are large, and excellent in their kind. The revenue is highly productive, both here and in Ireland. The Hibernians are quiet at least, if not loyal. I apprehend that some loan, probably of four or five millions (but I say this quite from conjecture), may be wanted; and the market at present is depressed by the quantity of disposable stock.

My neighbour, Lord Liverpool, is not worse than he was, and frequently calls here in the course of his morning drives.

The ladies join me in desiring to be kindly remembered to you and to your ladies.

Believe me, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Roehampton, October 19th, 1802.

My dear Lord Auckland,—Mr. Sullivan mentioned yesterday that he had understood from Mr. Pope, who attends Lord Rosslyn, that he is rather better.

Lord Pelham was present at the last cabinet, and was expected to return to-day,—certainly whenever there is a cabinet. His absence is only to be accounted for in a desire for some little relaxation in Sussex.

I have long thought that the proceedings* in India, which we must support, had an unfortunate similarity to those in Europe, which we much reprobate; and, I have no doubt, that the comparison will be invidiously made, if not by Bonaparte, by some of his Majesty's own subjects in Parliament.

* Of Lord Wellesley, who was rapidly extending the English dominions.

Major Allen, who returned yesterday from Paris, says, Mrs. Fox was presented at St. Cloud to Madame Bonaparte. He thinks the chief Consul's manner and figure altogether very much like Lord Wellesley's.

We have nothing of importance from France. The letters from Merry rather indicate an opinion, that our discussions will not end amicably. Major Allen understood at Calais that Bonaparte was expected upon the coast.

The change of administration in Russia, unquestionably, is not favourable to France; but I cannot perceive any immediate prospect of their embarking in measures which may lead them into a state of hostility. The Emperor of Germany has not yet struck upon the subject of Passau, and would certainly persevere in his resistance, if he should be at all aided by circumstances.

Mr. Pitt has appointed to dine with Mr. Addington either in town or at Richmond, on Sunday.

Ever yours affectionately,

HOBART.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.*

Cooper's Hill, Sunday Evening.

My dear Brother,—I am just returned from the terrace which was honoured with the presence of the Queen as well as with that of the King. On Wednesday, his Majesty will have a levée at St. James's, and in the evening go to Kew, where he will be met by the Queen and Princesses. There will not be a drawing-room, as Lady Dartmouth suspected, but they will remain at Kew till Friday, when his Majesty, in his way back to Windsor, will review the Scotch Greys on Ashford Common. I had the honour of attending him some hours yesterday, in his ride, and had a long and pleasing conversation

* Lord Henley was now residing near Windsor.

with him ; and, setting aside all courtiership, I can safely say, that the more I see of him, the more reason I see to love and honour him.

Mr. Fox is, I see, rudely handled by Cobbett (by the bye his Majesty has ordered his Annual Register), but I learn that he and the great Consul had a long dispute relative to the liberty of the press, which ended by each being more confirmed in his own opinion. Lord Hawkesbury has signified to the Commander-in-Chief that M. Andreossi* is to be received with the same honours as was M. de Mirepoix. *This is very grating.* In what year† was he here?

Ever your obliged and affectionate,

HENLEY.

Lord Auckland to Lord Rosslyn.

Eden Farm, November 5th, 1802.

My dear Lord, — We were unwilling to trouble Lady Rosslyn and Lady Mary Erskine with letters of inquiry, during your late severe attack ; but we contrived to receive almost daily accounts, by means of Lord Henley, Mr. Pope, Sir Walter Farquhar, Mr. Young, &c. We now trust that you are in a state of decided convalescence. Your natural stamina are so good, that you always recover well.

Receive our best compliments and wishes, on Mr. Erskine's approaching marriage, and have the goodness to mention them to him.

You probably know as much as I do respecting the chances of peace or war. Our national character and national dignity have not appeared to advantage under all the incidental impressions of the last half year. But, after all, our circumstances are not worse than I expected them to be, from the inauspicious secession of the late Cabinet ; an unfavourable ter-

* The French ambassador.

† M. Mirepoix came as ambassador after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

mination of the war, and an insecure state of peace, were the necessary results of that secession.

With respect to our actual predicament, I take for granted, that Bonaparte's petulant language to us, and to the Emperor, his menaces towards Portugal, and his interference with Switzerland, led the ministers to an apprehension that a rupture would become inevitable. Under that impression they seem to have given provisional orders to suspend the cession of Malta, the Cape, Demerara, &c. Angry explanations may ensue: but I am satisfied that there will not be a war. In truth, the two countries are not willing, and therefore their Governments are not able, to resort to the agitations and expenses of a state of hostility.

I am, my dear Lord, ever most sincerely yours,
AUCKLAND.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, November 18th, 1802.

I had not read when your former letter arrived, that number of Cobbett's Register which contained the same notions which I expressed. I by no means should be ashamed of them. In clearness and cogency, in reasoning and fact, I know nothing better than many of his statements.

Poor Lord Hawkesbury! I have as much confidence in the principles and conduct of some of the present ministers, full as much as I had in respect to those who are out. All, except an handful of Grenvilles, have declared in favour of peace. There is none therefore to bring forward in opposition to peace, under the idea of new measures. I have still more complacency perhaps for the ministers, because my speculations in respect to the probable conduct of Bonaparte, have in part failed, as well as theirs. It now appears to me somewhat weak to have trusted him, on the supposition that he would think it his interest to maintain peace, and that he could not support such a great navy and army, as he could not make

Germany, &c. the theatre of war, and subsist them out of France. The contrary is proved, and that nothing impedes his mischievous projects. I must ever lament that we did not in the first instance check the injurious encroachments of Bonaparte. It will and may be said that in the present prostrate state of Europe, it would be a thankless and a dangerous task to stand forth the champion of its rights. Alas! those rights will every day be more invaded, and we shall every day be less able to check Bonaparte's ambition and hostility; and if we do not adopt the *tua res agitur now*, we shall do so too late, when the house is on fire.

War is a desperate remedy, but peace, that peace of Amiens, I fear will prove a more fatal palliative. I am astonished that Bonaparte should have been so impolitic as to show what he is so soon. If he had amused us a year or two, our dupery would have been complete, and we should not have had a chance of effectual resistance. Notwithstanding the general abhorrence of war, if ministers do not maintain a firm tone, not only they, but the country will fall.

Yours ever, most sincerely,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Sheffield Place, November 29th, 1802.

I have read Cobbett's letter*, and I am glad to see that it is not uncivilised in respect to you; but Mr. Freeling is such a civilised, obliging, and attentive man, that I do not like to see his advantages so vigorously attacked.

My visit to London has not altered my notions, that we are in complete jeopardy. In the present situation of Europe it is hard to inquire concerning the policy of war or submission—for non-resistance to such a devil as Bonaparte is submission. I doubt

* Cobbett had a discussion with Lord Auckland respecting the management of the Post Office.

much whether the temper of the nation would bear out a minister in a bold open declaration of war. We have not the spirit of war among us. If the ministers had not been prompt when they did at last interfere, they would have been abused for letting the opportunity slip, but now they will be reprobated for risking an interference without consultation or concert with any other power. However, the retention of Malta or of any place, will produce insult and aggression, and thus we may be accommodated with a war, and thus it may be rendered palatable, agreeable and popular. There seems to be nothing but the chapter of accidents (no insignificant chapter, however), which can relieve us. I begin most cordially to wish for the apotheosis of Bonaparte. He is too much for modern mortals.

I expect the Grenvilles will promote my return to Westminster, by bringing forward their motion for a committee on the state of the nation. I am by no means satisfied that there is not an understanding between Pitt and some of his creatures, and that there is not much hollowness in the affairs of Denmark. Canning's attempt to bring him forward by acclamation was not, as I understand, relished in the House of Commons. I really think a change of ministers at present might be highly pernicious, and that we should thereby be plunged into the most serious mischief.

My lady and boy are well, but when the young Baron looks ruddy, he is going to be ill. When pale, he is ill. When he does not go to sleep early, there is a great irritation of nerves, and when he sleeps quite well, he is bilious.—Sincerely yours,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, December 21st.

My dear Brother, — The Archbishop comes to the Lodge on Thursday. I was sorry to hear there last

night, that Lord Rosslyn is less well than he was, in consequence of a cold caught by most rashly going out in a whiskey, and on a wet day, to inspect his farm.

The King is well, and was out yesterday with his harriers. He does not, however, go out to-day with his stag hounds, as he is afraid in changing horses repeatedly, as he is accustomed to do, of irritating his leg.

Andreossi I understand avoids as much as possible all political discussions with his Majesty's ministers—as does his principal with Lord Whitworth, but is most profuse to him in fair speeches.

Adieu, ever your obliged and affectionate brother,
HENLEY.

Lord Auckland to Lord Rosslyn.

Eden Farm, January 27th, 1803.

My dear Lord, — You have duly and punctually returned both my pamphlets, as I thought it probable that the Population Abstract might be sunk in the Serbonian bog of the Godolphin library I had taken means to secure another copy.

I should be glad to know that you have not been materially affected by the severe weather, which began on the morning that we left Baylis, and seems disposed to last some time longer.

The accounts received this week by our West India packets serve at least to reconcile me to the hyperborean breezes under which I am shivering. The yellow fever is making great ravages at St. Domingo, Jamaica, Grenada, Dominica, &c.; and our old friend Lord Lavington*, writes to me that in the course of four or five days, he had lost his private secretary, his valet de chambre, his butler, and his maître d'hôtel.

I feel anxious for authentic and further particulars

* Formerly Sir Ralph Payne.

from Gibraltar.* It is a nervous and electrifying business at best.

The King is perfectly well, but less hardy, or at least more prudent than heretofore. It is a terrible day for a drawing room; and yet if he should not go, it will be misinterpreted.

Lady Auckland and my daughters desire to be very kindly remembered to you, and to the ladies.

I am, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Rosslyn to Lord Auckland.

Baylis, April 18th, 1803.

My dear Lord, — I hope to be able to exhibit to you the fruit of your melon seed in perfection. My gardener has a great passion for the culture of melons, because, I believe, we give away more than we use, for, in the family, we hold it not to be a safe fruit. He had made melon-beds, and had not been able to get any seed that he could depend upon till your packet arrived, from which he hopes to gain some credit.

The appearances in the natural world are as favourable as those in the political world are unpromising. A passage in Claudian, which I once pointed out to Mr. Pitt in your library, is more apposite to the present times than it was to those, for then the seasons also were against us, and now, I think, they are the only favourable circumstance in our position. I shall be happy to see you in town next week, where I go very unwillingly, and merely because I think I owe it to the young part of my family, which has been so long shut up with me here, to let them have some share of the amusements which London affords. I feel no disposition, however, to enter upon a parliamentary campaign, with regard to which my mind is even more unbraced than my constitution; the last, I

* The garrison had been in a state of mutiny.

perceive but too well, is very much impaired ; and I must conclude that others will perceive the consequent declension of the former. The quiet society of a few friends is the utmost extent of my wish, and I shall rely upon your aid for its accomplishment.

I ever am, my dear Lord, yours most sincerely,
ROSSLYN.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, June 15th, 1803.

My dear Brother, — I arrived here yesterday to breakfast ; but, having been up late the preceding night and risen very early, I found myself too much fatigued to go to the races ; I therefore deferred paying my duty to my royal neighbours till this morning. I went out for that purpose soon after three and met his Majesty, the Princesses Sophia and Amelia, the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, with a numerous suite just coming into the park. I rode with them nearly three hours, and found the King, God be praised, well and in good spirits. Hanover was much spoken of ; and though the King's mind must, doubtless, be greatly affected by the truly abominable conduct of the French and sufferings of his subjects*, yet his good sense and religion prevent them from making too deep an impression on him. He was very gracious and very kind. The choice for the two vacant bishopricks pleased him much. Fisher, canon of Windsor, is to have Exeter, and Burgess, prebendary of Durham, St. David's.

To-morrow the Royal family goes again to Ascot, whither Lady Henley and I, though agreeing perfectly with the Queen that a race is a vulgar business, shall also of course go. On Wednesday they remove to Kew, and return to Windsor on the Friday.

I fear that Mr. Stuart may have been intercepted

* War had been declared on May 14th, and France had taken possession of Hanover since June 3rd.

by the French on his way back to Vienna, as he very rashly refused to change his route through Hanover, though strongly urged to it by Prince William of Gloucester. I am anxious to see what conduct the abominable Court of Berlin will now pursue, though firmly convinced that it will never serve us or the cause for which we are fighting. The budget will, I hope, turn out as productive as stated: it will be the most satisfactory of all arguments, both to the French and neutrals. I shall pay my mite cheerfully, and have only to wish that all the mercantile people, who are growing rich on the distresses of the country, may be made to pay, and that the people may not find the tax on malt disproportionate.

Adieu. Make Lady Henley's and my best wishes acceptable to the ladies, and believe me to be ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

HENLEY.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

(Most private.)

Dublin, July 30th, 1803.

My dear Auckland, — We have had a most providential escape. The whole plan, which has been carrying on for a long time, was executed with so much secrecy, and Government were so blinded by appearances and professions, that they would not believe any informations which were given them, of which I hear there were many. The plan was to seize the castle and the city, and to detain all persons they chose as hostages, and murder all obnoxious persons to them. The attack was to have begun at a certain hour; but the main body, stationed in Thomas Street, having got poor Kilwarden in their power, could not restrain their desire of blood and massacre, and broke out near two hours before the appointed time; the consequence was, that they being defeated (I may say, by accident), the party stationed in the bye lanes, &c., near the castle, to seize on it, were intimidated, and did not make the attempt, which, had they done, it is

thought must have succeeded, for there was not the least preparation: it is said there was no ammunition. After the alarm was given, not a man of the line stirred from the barrack before one o'clock, some hours after all was over. It was the liberty rangers, ill prepared, who defeated the main body in Thomas Street; and the only party of the line engaged, was the small party of the 21st Foot, who were by chance relieving the guard in James Street. Where the fault lies I know not; I hear that the commanders at the castle and at the barrack differ upon that subject.

Amazing discoveries of pikes, stores, money, &c., have been made, of which I have not time to tell you: but credit 20,000 pikes concealed in a most extraordinary manner, above 20,000 addresses from the Provisional Government of Ireland, to the public at large; quantities of new-baked bread, and every other preparation for supposed success in their attempt.

All is now apparently quiet on both sides, as before this day se'nnight; how long God only knows. The surprise having failed, whether an attempt by force may not succeed it I know not, and whether the whole force of the country may not be brought forwards, no one can say; but no apparent preparation is seen against any attempt, no sort of communication is made, we are all in the dark. I write only conjecture and report. I suppose they wait English orders.

This country is lost, if England perseveres in the present system.

The north is well inclined in general. I can say no more at present.

Yours, &c.

J. BERESFORD.

Lady Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

Eden Farm, August 12th, 1803.

My dear Brother,—Lord Auckland, I thank God, is well, and will answer for himself at the end of

this letter. William, between his office duties and his military ones, is much employed, but gets to us as often as he can. His military duties consist in commanding the St. Margaret Volunteers, so that we, being in that district, shall have the pleasure of being defended by our own son.

You never saw so military a country as this. Nothing but fighting is talked of. The zeal throughout all the country, from the highest to the lowest, is wonderful; and I am convinced that should an invasion be tried, you would see all the ladies letting their nails grow, that they might scratch at the enemy; but seriously speaking, I am convinced an invader would fare very ill if he came to try it, which I much doubt his doing.

Ireland was a shocking story, but I believe now less to be feared than it had been for a long time, the Government and people of the country being aware of the business. Poor Lord Kilwarden was a most respectable and excellent man, universally regretted. I take for granted you will have seen an account of all that business in the papers.

Your friend Lady Anna Maria Stanhope* has been on the point of marrying Lord Foley, her cousin, who had repeatedly proposed to her and been refused. In an unguarded moment she said yes, and repented immediately that she had. She consulted her father what to do, who said it was better to repent before the marriage than after, and she must manage as she could to impress Lord Foley of the change in her sentiments, upon which, she wrote him as handsome a letter as she could, which put an end to the marriage. Such is the story in the world. Lady Anna Maria has great credit in the business, as it was a most brilliant marriage in a worldly point of view, but she did not like the man.

You have long heard, I suppose, that Lady Georgiana Gordon is now Duchess of Bedford. A mar-

* Lady Anna Maria was married in 1809 to the late Duke of Bedford.

riage which at first surprised the world a little, but of course the wonder lasted but nine days. She will, I have no doubt, make an excellent wife, and one cannot help (putting aside some unpleasant part of the marriage) feeling happy that a young and amiable woman, who had been cruelly used by some wicked part of the world, should be so completely triumphant over them. The other marriages since your departure are Lord Graves to Lady Mary Paget, youngest daughter to Lord Uxbridge, a very pretty young woman. It was a very sudden love and soon settled. Your friend Mr. Dickinson is also married to a young woman of good fortune. I think that is all the matrimonial news I know of, since your departure.

E. AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

My dear Elliot,—Eleanor has said so much that I will reserve myself to some other occasion. The zeal with which your countrymen are arming, in all ranks, districts and descriptions, surpasses all instances in the annals of nations. As to the parliamentary warfare, it has been in great measure suspended; there is, however, a decided separation and even an inimical disposition between some individuals* of a leading description whom you left in a sort of equivocal state. I believe it is true that Lord Pelham will give up the Home Department to Mr. Yorke, who will be succeeded by Mr. Bragge: and that Lord Liverpool will resign the Duchy of Lancaster to Lord Pelham: and I presume that Lord Hawkesbury, if Lord Liverpool should live, will be called up to the House of Peers. I must reserve many matters and reflections for some safer conveyance than this scrawl will find—so God bless you.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

* Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington.

Mr. Lees to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, September 20th, 1803.

Dear Sir,—Agreeably to my prediction, Emmett was this day executed in Thomas Street, the scene of his exploits on 23rd July, and contiguous to the great depôt of which, it was proved on the trial, he was the complete manager and sole director. From the time he left his cell to the last moment of his existence, he conducted himself with a degree of hardihood bordering on insanity, and of which I could not have supposed any human being, in the awful situation he was, could have manifested. From the gaol to the place of execution, he appeared engaged in a serious argument with two clerical gentlemen, who accompanied him in a carriage, whose exhortations never appeared to produce the smallest effect on his countenance. It never once suffered dejection. Arrived at the fatal spot, where thousands of the populace were assembled to behold the execution, he ascended the platform with the most undaunted resolution and determined resignation to his fate. He looked round him with the utmost composure and beheld his numerous *friends*, every one of whom (whether from respect, or from an established custom on such occasions I know not) were at this moment without their hats. It was expected by most people that he would address them. I believe he was prevented—he uttered not a word.

Believe me, &c.

E. S. LEES.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Volunteers reviewed by the King. — A new Coalition. — Mr. Pitt in Opposition. — Lord Ellenborough and the Bishops. — Overthrow of Mr. Addington. — Dismissal of Lords Hobart and Auckland. — Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland. — Lady Loudon and the *Sortes Homerice*. — Reconciliation of the King and Prince of Wales. — Mr. Beresford reconciles Lord Auckland and Mr. George Rose.

MR. ADDINGTON'S Government was now threatened by a coalition of the Grenvilles with the Fox party. Mr. Pitt, after some hesitation, joined with the Opposition, and from this moment the fate of ministers was decided.

Lord Hobart seems to have imagined that the "Catholic millstone" hanging about Mr. Pitt's neck, would have compelled him to stand aloof from hostile proceedings; but it was already removed, for Mr. Pitt had determined that under no circumstances should the Catholic question ever be raised again by any ministry of which he was the chief.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, November 2nd.

My dear Beresford, — We continue at war, but without the agitations and events of war: except, indeed, that it is a fashion with many, and those not merely old women, but generals, admirals and statesmen, to profess to be extremely agitated by the fears of a most powerful invasion. The accounts from the Continent are louder and more violent than ever in their menaces, and I am consequently more incredulous. If the arch-villain meant really to make the attempt, he would announce in every newspaper of Europe that he had desisted from all thoughts of

it. In the mean time the volunteer force is becoming very respectable in a military point of view. How far they are to be equally admired in a constitutional sense, and in good policy, is a question of deep and difficult discussion. The corps of London and Westminster reviewed by the King in Hyde Park, were (on the actual returns in the field) above 27,000 men; and they are not supposed to form above a tenth part of the volunteer force of the kingdom. Add to all this the army, the militia, and all the other preparations which are now matured (though, I fear, at an enormous expense), surely nothing is more to be wished than that the attempt should be made on this country; and nothing is more unlikely in my opinion. With respect to your more disputable country, our strength is at least a great diminution to your weakness, if we avail ourselves of our means to hold great reinforcements in readiness for you and to send some more detachments to you.

Another blue ribbon is vacant by Lord Stafford's death. It is supposed that the Duke of Rutland will have one of them; and various names are surmised for the other—Lords Hertford, Chesterfield, Hardwicke, &c.

The King is in perfect health. The Prince is professedly much dissatisfied that his offers to serve have not been accepted; but I suppose that he acceded entirely to Lord Moira's appointment to Scotland.

We have had uninterrupted fine weather since the 20th June. There are now some symptoms that it is preparing to change; but there are still on my walls considerable quantities of ripe grapes and Morella cherries, and in the gardens there are many carnations full blown.

The ladies send their love to you and to yours. Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

(Private.)

Eden Farm, Nov. 20th, 1803.

My dear Beresford,—The inclosed may serve to give some bulk to my letter. It has only a moderate share of wit and allusion upon the ministerial side of the question. I do not know who is the author. We are going to Palace Yard to-morrow till the Friday; to dine at Lord Hawkesbury's on Monday; to attend the opening of the session on Tuesday; the levée on Wednesday; and the drawing-room on Thursday.

I understand that it is not the intention of Government to propose amending bills, or to introduce debateable propositions before February; and the opposition members are so dispersed by the volunteer and militia duties, that their attendance will be thin.

I see no reason to change the opinions which I have uniformly had on the subject of invasion. Bonaparte's first menace to invade us was an act of weakness and short-sighted passion. Any attempt to carry that menace into execution would be madness, and without a prospect or hope of success,—I mean in respect to this island. As to your island, more mischief might be done; but the ultimate result there also, would be the discomfiture of the consular adventurer.

The state of parties seems to be precisely where you left it; a bungled ill-managed business.

Let us hear from you; and believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, Dec. 19th, 9 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I cannot discover by your note of yesterday on whose part the tampering

with the Catholics has taken place; but from whatever quarter it may proceed, I can have no hesitation in pronouncing it scandalous in the extreme, and inevitably calculated to be productive of the worst consequences.

I am inclined to think that the debates since the meeting of Parliament, in point of impression, cannot have been unfavourable to administration, and particularly that the speech of Lord Castlereagh, which he has published, has placed the naval and military exertions in a creditable point of view. We are, however, to hear much of the volunteer system after Christmas, and if we do not take care it will be totally lost in the attempt to bring it to a state of perfection of which it is not capable; though I must at the same time acknowledge that some gentle touches of improvement may not be unadvisable.

Lord Hawkesbury has a readiness and confidence about him that will be useful in the House of Lords, and which will put the business there upon a footing that will be extremely advantageous to the present administration.

All accounts speak of the horror which Bonaparte is daily inspiring in France, against both his person and Government, so much so that one is almost inclined to indulge (though not encourage) a hope that he cannot last many months.

Yours affectionately,
HOBART.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

(Confidential.)

Eden Farm, December 19th, 1803.

My dear Beresford,—I yesterday received your letter of the 8th, and was glad to see your hand-writing. I was beginning to hunger and thirst for a few lines from you.

What you say of the Catholic question, is a deep-rooted business: various interests, passions and speculations are combining to bring that discussion for-

ward. Mr. Pitt (or at least some of those who surround him), would not be sorry to arrive at some decision on a question which hangs heavily on his neck. Mr. Fox is avowedly desirous to agitate the point, and it is understood that he means to bring it forward in full form. He will be supported by Windham, with whom he is supposed to have had friendly explanations, and to have formed a new coalition, which he is extending through Windham to Mr. Grenville, and probably through the latter to Lord Grenville. Those four, with Lord Minto, W. Elliot, and various other adherents and connections, will form a strong corps, and may give considerable trouble. I have reason to believe that Mr. Pitt will stand aloof, but certainly with no friendly disposition to Mr. Addington's Government. The agitators of the Catholic question will concoct their measure with the Prince of Wales, and with the constant support which it may hereafter receive from that high quarter. After all, I am not very uneasy as to the result, nor do I believe that either Lord Hardwicke or Mr. Addington will be guilty of so great a folly as to tamper with it, or to do anything, or to make any concession, that would undermine the broad and solid principle on which we at present rest. Your Chancellor* has considerable weight in Irish councils, and is steady and earnest upon this whole subject, perhaps even with a warmth beyond discretion.

In the mean time the good King is in perfect health, and in the fullest possession of his own good judgment and firmness.

In this short and first chapter of the session (which will be adjourned, on Monday or Tuesday next, until February), Mr. Pitt exhibited more eloquence than good judgment—in fact, he was occupied on the second and third days in the unsaying what he had said on the first day, and which was so

* Lord Redesdale.

evidently exceptional, with respect to the volunteers* that it met with no support from any one individual. I happen to *know*, that some who came to town to meet and support him, were grievously disappointed and vexed. The affairs of the world are variable: but at this moment, Mr. Addington has, apparently, the whole game in his hands. It was thought by many that Mr. Yorke† showed himself too sensitive for a Secretary of State, and too liable to be flung off his guard, and to be provoked into indiscretions.

My letter bag being arrived, I can write no more at present. We all wish to you and to yours a merry, healthy and happy Christmas. Do you come among us? and when?

I should take more pleasure in the arrangement of your library at Walworth, if you could make a better kettle of fish at Fishmongers' Hall.

Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

(Private.)

Eden Farm, Sunday, 15th.

My dear Beresford,—We are going to-morrow to town for three days, that the ladies may prepare themselves for the drawing-room, and for the Queen's house in the evening.

Mr. Pitt is at present at Mr. Canning's; Lord Grenville met him in town on Wednesday last, and they were seen walking together. It is the avowed object of several principal individuals who have access to him, to get him out of the system of half-opposition; to form an avowed phalanx for a new ministry, and in that shape to begin the campaign in February. But there are infinite difficulties, both personal and political.

Sir Evan Nepean professes to undertake the Irish

* Mr. Pitt had moved that a field officer from the "regulars" should be appointed to every volunteer battalion of 500 men.

† The Secretary for the Home Department.

Secretaryship with great reluctance. I think that his nomination will on the whole be pleasant to you.

Lord Clonmell is here to-day, dining at the invitation of my eldest son, with whom he is well acquainted. He seems to be a very gentlemanlike man; but in his look and manner he often reminds me of his father.

If I should learn anything worth mentioning in town, I will write on my return to this place. In the mean time let me know that your tendon-Achilles is well relieved.

I am, my dear Beresford, yours ever sincerely,
AUCKLAND.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, January 30th, 10 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I have heard so much the same account as that you give of the state of parties from different quarters, and upon such good authority, that I have no doubt of the fact,—and although the arrangement does not appear a good one for forming an administration, it seems admirably calculated for annoying his Majesty's present ministers. But unless some great disaster should happen, which would be fatal to us all, I do not think it will do more than disturb the comfort of the Treasury bench, and occasionally interfere with the dinners of the Peers. In such a warfare as that in which we are engaged, and with all the difficulties we have to encounter; a vigilant and factious opposition, instantly prepared to poison and inflame the public mind upon every occasion that will admit of an unfavourable colouring, cannot fail to make an impression both injurious to the Government and to the country: but I am not without hope, that the weight of the talents employed for that purpose, will be considerably diminished by the thorough knowledge that the world will possess of the motives by which they

are actuated—and this may lead to a stronger support from the public than we should otherwise meet with.

Neither Mr. Fox's principles nor Lord Grenville's manners are popular; and Mr. Pitt, standing aloof with a Catholic millstone about his neck, will not be an object to attract a large body of political speculators.

Nothing can be more delicate than the management of the Volunteer question, and I entirely agree with you in the necessity of not throwing an imperfect and unsettled proposition* on the waves of Parliament. But after much consideration, I can see no line that can be taken, which is not liable to insuperable objection, but that of leaving the individuals belonging to the Volunteer Corps at liberty to withdraw *whenever* they may think proper. Either to adopt or enforce the Attorney-General's construction of the law, is absolutely impossible,—and if you give the option of entering for one month, and after that period enact that all who remain shall be considered enlisted for the war, you would reduce the 285,000 to five. Whereas, if you leave them in the situation which they conceived they had entered into, viz. the power of withdrawing whenever they were tired of the service, or from circumstances found themselves obliged to quit it, reserving to Government the power of enforcing the compulsory clauses of the Defence Bill, you will find that there will be no difficulty in keeping up a very large proportion of the Volunteer Corps. *Entre nous*, I do not quite approve of Yorke's letters to Lord Teignmouth, but I am not sure that a distinction could not be made out between a first and a second election. Upon the invitation of Government, a number of persons meet together and agree to form a Volunteer Corps, composed of a specified number of companies,

* A Bill was brought in by Mr. Yorke on February 4th, respecting the Volunteers.

with officers nominated by and from amongst themselves. Having so done, they submit their proposition, through the Lord Lieutenant, to Government, and if there be nothing objectionable in the terms, in other respects, the Corps, with the officers so nominated, is accepted. They then become a military body (liable in case of invasion to be placed under the mutiny bill), with commissions signed by the King, and in this state, the principle of electing to vacancies would perhaps justify the epithets of unconstitutional and mischievous, although the original nomination by election had not, because the first would have taken place before they were a military body, and the latter, after they were constituted as such.

Bonaparte's exposition is an extraordinary paper, and certainly open to the observations you make upon it. What a pity it is that George Rose, who had such an aversion to St. Domingo bills, could not find so ingenious a way of getting rid of them as the Chief Consul has adopted. Considering the document he sent to St. Domingo, he will be obliged to consider it as a *grand colony*, and may have some difficulty in proving that it remains to France.

Affectionately yours,

HOBART.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, April 14th.

My dear Brother, — I went out early this morning to the rendezvous for the stag hunt ; the chase was long and severe, and the fatigue not a little increased by the heat of the day. I returned barely in time to dress myself for dinner at the Lodge, and am now much disposed for a nap, but my time will be better spent in answering the important questions in your letter of yesterday, which was put into my hands as I was getting upon my horse.

I have lived much these few days back with some of the Grenvilles and their friends, the universal cry of them is that the country is in the most imminent danger, that the present ministry is totally unequal to the arduous crisis, and that a change is certainly on the tapis, but whether it is only to comprehend Mr. Pitt or to take in Lord Grenville they do not say—but I know that Lord Glastonbury* said this morning that believing some important changes were in negotiation, he had written to decline going to Dropmore, fearing that he should be in the way, but that Lord Grenville had pressed him to come, saying that he most earnestly wished that he should not at this moment be taken from his retirement. In the mean time our good King is well, and rode this morning with all the vigour of twenty-five, and, indeed, from the evenness of his spirits, one would be led to suppose that no flirtation is carrying on by his Premier—at least, with his privy. The subject is too delicate to enter upon with him.

Lord Rosslyn is in the country, and is well. I have wished to go to see him, but my horses are at present so fully employed, that I must defer it till Tuesday, when the Royal family removes to London.

Lord Rivers is dying, which will make a vacancy in the bedchamber.

I understood last night that the Duke of Wirtemberg has paid Bonaparte & Co. a million and a half of florins (150,000*l.*) for the increase of territory that has been allotted to him, and that the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had, in consequence of his refusing to come down handsomely, been much disappointed in his expectations. Adieu.

Affectionately yours,
HENLEY.

The following letter was written in anticipation of Lord Stafford's motion against the Government.

* Lord Grenville's cousin.

Lord Ellenborough to Lord Auckland.

Bloomsbury Square, April 20th.

My dear Lord, — The proxy of Dampier, Bishop of Rochester, may easily be got; he is, I believe, but at the distance of Bromley — he would give it to the Bishop of Durham or of Winchester. The proxy of the Bishops of Ely and Lichfield * may also easily be got, and the attendance of the Bishop of London procured. I should imagine Lord Abercorn could obtain the proxy of the Bishop of Hereford.† The Bishop of Peterborough's‡ proxy may be withdrawn on the application of Lord Cornwallis, and given to some other bishop than Lincoln. The Bishop of Carlisle's § proxy will be obtained by Lord Stafford for the other side. *Lord Amherst* || should be spoken to in *terms not to be misunderstood*.

By some accident I think Lord Bristol was not in the House last night.

We should all be at our posts, and ready dined by five.

Yours, my dear Lord, most sincerely,

ELLENBOROUGH.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, April 21st, 1804.

My dear Lord, — I have nothing to say, but I like a little communication very much *de temps en temps*.

We wish to hear that your beauteous little sylph Emily is quite well, as also all the family. I continue to be worried worse than ever; and although French invasion may be checked, as I conceive it is, by conspiracy, I am entirely of opinion that I should hold in readiness, and in the best state possible, the horrid undertaking of 1260 volunteers. I have managed some essential points since I saw you. To correct

* Brother of Lord Cornwallis.

† Dr. Cornwall.

‡ Brother-in-law of Lord Cornwallis.

§ Lord of the Bed Chamber: he voted with Mr. Pitt.

|| Brother-in-law of Lord Stafford.

the mischief of frequent and capricious resignations, I have contrived to engage the Legion* for three years' service (the period for which the clothing is granted), unless the volunteer should be incapacitated by bad health, and necessity should require him to remove from the parish where he serves.

I do not delight much in East India victories and extension of empire. I abhor Mahratta-hunting, especially when that business produced a refusal of from three hundred to five hundred Sepoys (the whole demanded) to Ceylon when at risk.

Why cannot Messrs. the Ministers acquire a rational notion on the mode of defence? I protested against any Irish militia at all; but when the mischief was in part done away by the offer to serve here, I conceive the completion of everything most senseless is the augmentation of the Irish militia, which of course interferes with the only wise measure of the kind that sprang from the present Administration, namely, the raising regiments of the line for general service, giving one step of rank.

I think your London politicians will soon have plenty of occupation, and that curious contests will take place. Do you recollect the conflicts when I first came into Parliament, and that a great motion by Dunning was defeated by my single vote the first day I took my seat, for which George Byng never forgave me?

My lady and the minor baron continue in high preservation. My lady supposes she must attend her Princess on the 9th May.

Yours, ever,
S.

Mr. Addington, finding his majority decreasing, resigned on the 29th of April, and it was expected that a strong Government would be formed, consisting of the leading members of the Coalition. But the King having refused to admit Mr. Fox, Lord Gren-

* The North Pevensey.

ville decided not to enter into Mr. Pitt's Ministry, which necessitated the formation of a still weaker Government than Mr. Addington's, as Mr. Pitt was obliged to compose it of a few personal friends and of the mediocrities of the Administration that he had overthrown.

Lord Eldon remained as Lord Chancellor, Lords Harrowby, Hawkesbury and Camden, became Secretaries of State for Foreign, Home Affairs and the War Department. Lords Auckland and Hobart were removed from office. With regard to Ireland*, the appointment of Mr. Foster, the bitter opponent of the Roman Catholics, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and chief manager, showed the determination of Mr. Pitt to persevere in the old system of Protestant ascendancy.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Long.

Palace Yard, May 16th.

My dear Sir,—I had hoped to have seen you, or have heard from you some days ago ; more especially when, with respect to others, certain circumstances took place which have given, and will give, pain and embarrassment to me.

Be all that as it may, I sincerely regret that I have not seen Mr. Pitt. Such a meeting would either have ended in the manly, though unhappy conviction that all confidence between us is for ever lost ; or, it would have procured towards me that temper of justice, and those consequent sentiments of kindness which have been too long suspended—too long certainly, even if the original sin had been solely on my side.

In saying this, I admit that I may have had an undue share of momentary passion in the transaction. It was, however, at the worst an infirmity of nature,

* Mr. Pitt had written to Mr. Beresford on April 11th, announcing his determination to upset Mr. Addington, and asking for his support, and through his influence the Irish tories had voted with Pitt against the Government. In fact, Mr. Pitt's success was owing to the assistance given him by Mr. Beresford and Mr. Foster.

more especially venial, as it arose from a suspicion (warranted by strong appearances) that I had not been well treated by him, to whom I had shown, during fifteen years, an unbounded affection and attachment, and with whom I had conceived myself to be living in the most entire confidence of public and domestic intimacy.

I will not permit myself to say more, though the wound has ceased to be irritable. You know, I believe, the whole of my mind on the subject; at least you will know it if you will consult the good and benevolent qualities of your own mind; and there I leave it.

Though this letter is confidential, I can have no objection to its being shown to Mr. Pitt.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, May 17th.

My philosophy is not quite so temperate as yours. I do think that ancient Nicholas could not be better employed than in taking unto himself the whole set, including all the influence and talents in the country, having no doubt that we should do just as well without them. While I was in London the enemy was never thought of. If he had come, he would only be asked which way he meant to vote.

Great must be the odium on those who, anxious for power and office, decline on any pretence, at this moment, to form an efficient strong administration; and, although I may feel something bordering on admiration for the boldness, I cannot discover much sanity in undertaking the Government with the feeble remains of the late administration, in the face of an irresistible combination, headed as it will be.

I shall remain here some time longer, and I shall like to hear your philosophy very much.

I hope Emily is well.

Yours, ever sincerely,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Palace Yard, May 17th, 1804.

My dear Beresford, — I owe it to your affectionate and unshaken friendship for me and for mine to inform you that I am to quit the Post Office, to be succeeded by the Duke of Montrose. This is painful to my mind, as implying a decided separation from one whose intimacy and confidence had long been the pride and pleasure of my life. But in other respects it is not injurious to my small private fortunes; and certainly it will not be injurious to my pretensions, if I have any, in the line of public life and of public opinion. I reserve further particulars till we meet.

Yours ever, sincerely and affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

I think it probable that we may go to-morrow to Eden Farm, till Wednesday.

Mr. Rufus King to Lord Auckland.

New York, June 4th, 1804.

My Lord, — I have had the honour to receive, and am much obliged to you for your letter of —, together with the packet that accompanied it from Lord Sheffield. I take the liberty to forward, under your Lordship's cover, my acknowledgments to Lord Sheffield for his obliging recollection. You will naturally conclude, although I may not agree with his Lordship, that I can have no motive to contest with him a theory to which he is so indissolubly wedded. I may, nevertheless, be permitted to say to you, who have perhaps considered the subject of commerce as profoundly as his Lordship can have done, that, although principles of every sort are immutable, regulations, which are sometimes confounded with principles, and especially regulations of trade, are, and must continue to be, liable to endless changes.

Remote as we are from Europe, and engrossed as

you must be with your own affairs, our political feuds and domestic concerns can excite no attention; indeed, among ourselves they appear little, in comparison with what is passing in your quarter of the world, towards which we are continually turning with anxiety and hope.

I rejoice in the King's recovery, and earnestly pray that Providence may not only give effectual and complete success to the means of defence it has placed in his hands, but for the safety of other states, that he may add new glory, as well as strength, to the British empire.

With sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's obedient and faithful servant,
RUFUS KING.

P.S. We have just seen Talleyrand's letter* to the *corps diplomatique*—it is a bold and imposing measure, and calls for some equally formal act on the part of your Cabinet. It is not enough that Englishmen should be satisfied of the innocence† of their Government; the welfare of other states is in some sort concerned in the purity of the British Government, and will be promoted by its solemn and complete vindication.

Lord Pelham to Lord Auckland.

Brighthelmstone, May 24th, 1804.

My dear Lord Auckland,—Mr. Pitt offered me Lord Aylesford's place.‡ I did not choose to refuse anything without consideration, therefore desired time; but I wrote to him yesterday morning, declining it, and expressing at the same time my reliance "on his professions of good-will, and on the justice of my claim to compensation for the unmerited

* Referring to Mr. Drake's intercourse with Mehée La Touche.

† Respecting their connivance with the conspirators against Bonaparte.

‡ Captain of the Pensioners.

loss of a high and lucrative situation * granted to me by the King's special favour, and as a mark of his approbation of my past services."

I should not have liked the situation he offered under any circumstances; and the only way in which a Court office could have been agreeable to me, would be the certainty of its being the King's spontaneous wish, and as an earnest of his desire to make me compensation for his acquiescence in a ministerial arrangement by which I had been so much injured.

I confess to you that I thought my conduct to Mr. Pitt, from the first moments of the King's recovery in 1801 till the present moment, fairly entitled me to ask from him the grant of the Duchy for life, and I had intended asking for it the first time I should have an audience of him.

Lord Camden has been as kind and friendly to me upon the occasion as it is possible.

Farewell, my dear Lord Auckland; and be assured that I am, with very sincere regard,

Ever yours most faithfully,

PELIHAM.

Mr. William Eden to Lord Auckland.

Old Palace Yard, Tuesday.

My dear Father,—Your guess respecting the division † last night was, in point of proportion, very near the mark, though the numbers were larger.

The Opposition appear triumphant. They mustered 232 at one time in the House, and reckon upon at least eight more. One thing we may collect from the debate is, that the mutual antipathy of Messrs. Pitt and Fox exists as strongly as ever, and that no Cabinet negotiations can be at present in agitation.

Mr. Pitt spoke with the usual spirit that he shows in times of difficulty. He *tenderly* reproached the

* The Duchy of Lancaster.

† On Mr. Pitt's Additional Force Bill, on Monday, June 18th, the numbers were for engrossing the bill, 265, against it, 223.

Grenvilles for refusing to take office with him ; but appeared confident of his strength, and determined to set all parties at defiance. Very little debate is expected to-night. Your dutiful son,

W. F. E. EDEN.

Lord Rosslyn to Lord Auckland.

July 7th, 1804.

My dear Lord,—I am very sensible of the kind interest Lady Auckland and you have always expressed for whatever affects me. My health is considerably mended ; Home's regular attendance has ceased to be necessary, and he is confident that he has entirely removed the disorder. I continue, however, under so much restraint as to exercise and regimen, that I have little disposition to remove from this neighbourhood. The truth is (what no medical man chooses to tell me) that at my age it is impossible that either the body or mind should recover * that firm texture which has been impaired by disease. I feel this truth ; and the only consolation I have is, that I can still rejoice in the comforts of those I love. May those which attend you and yours continue and increase.—I am, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

ROSSLYN.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Lady Loudon † was educated in Scotland, where ladies of rank are often instructed early in the Greek

* Lord Rosslyn died on January 1st, 1805. He had long been in a bad state of health ; and there seems nothing to justify Lord Campbell's description of his latter life, which represents him as always dancing in attendance on Royalty.

Miss Cotes, Lord Rosslyn's niece, informed Lord Campbell that " His kindness to his relations was invariable, and his house was at all times open to them, and to friends of all ages, who were welcomed with cheerfulness ; and no one could be in his society without deriving some information from his superior mind, the powers of which were never weakened to the last days of his life, though, from severe bodily illness, he was in a great measure removed from public life."

† Lady Loudon was married to Lord Moira on July 12th, 1804.

language (as we know, from the instances of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth, English ladies were in this country). Amusing herself once with the *Sortes Homericæ*, she opened the book on the following line in the 22nd Iliad, line 303 :—

νῦν αὐτὲ με Μοῖρα κιχάνει

which Cowper translates very literally :—

“And Moira finds me wheresoe’er I go.”

Another time—as she was much pleased with this sort of diversion, she opened on the following passage in the 18th Iliad, line 119 :—

Ἄλλὰ με Μοῖρα δάμασσε

“And now subdued by Moira must I be.”

See Cowper’s *Translation*.

As the Highlanders are superstitious, it is conjectured that the remembrance of these two incidents, which her Ladyship had frequently mentioned to her friends, had no little weight in inducing her to consent to the marriage.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Riching’s, July 13th, 10 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—Mr. Pitt will hardly venture to assert that you have been remunerated by him beyond what you have been fairly entitled to by your successful exertions in support of his Government; but in adverting to all that has been passing between you for so many years, and with a view particularly to his recent conduct, the game that he has been playing through the medium of your smooth-tongued *friend*, Mr. Long, since last Christmas, I cannot reflect on his duplicity and harshness without feelings

* Lord Auckland never doubted Mr. Long’s friendship, but Mr. George Rose, when he was thrown over by Mr. Pitt, entertained very dark suspicions respecting his conduct.—See *Rose Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 232.

that it would be impossible to express by any terms which it would be decent to put upon paper.

Eleanor desires her love.

Yours, affectionately,
HOBART.

Lord Auckland to Lord Hobart.

(Confidential.)

Eden Farm, July 13th.

My dear Lord Hobart,—If you had been at Roehampton instead of Richings I would have taken a drive in a postchaise this morning for half an hour's conversation with you. I believe that an order is given to prepare a new patent appointing the *Duke of Montrose* and Lord Charles Spencer to be joint Postmasters-General. This procedure, so contrary to all the instances of the last twenty years (Lord Walsingham and Lord Westmorland; Lord Walsingham and Lord Chesterfield; Lord Auckland and Earl Gower; Lord Auckland and Lord Charles Spencer), will be somewhat mortifying, and was, I believe, quite unexpected; but I have had no communications with Lord Charles on the subject.

When the circumstances of your removal are thrown into the scale with all sensations resulting from my removal and from past recollections, I must feel that Mr. Pitt's conduct towards me has not been what I had a right to expect from any friendly, generous and honourable mind. But in the eyes and understanding of our cotemporaries, I and my family have at different periods received so many obligations from him, or through him, that it is impossible for me ever to express either in public or in private any sentiments of hostility or even of dissatisfaction respecting him. I can only wait the results of time and events with becoming reserve, and I hope with cheerfulness and due dignity of mind.

Our best love to Eleanor,—she will find a letter

from the family at Roehampton. All kind compliments to the Sullivan colony.

I am, my dear Lord Hobart,

Yours, affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, Staines, July 17th.

My dear Brother,—I see in the "Gazette" of Saturday last the appointment of your successor; and though fortunately your income be not diminished, I cannot but very sincerely lament that Mr. Pitt has deprived the public of your services, and himself of your support; for notwithstanding my utter dislike of all his *alentours* except Mr. Long, and objections to some part of his political conduct, he is in every respect so superior to the opposite leaders, that it would give me the greatest pleasure to see you cordially reunited and acting together.

We hear good accounts of the King, but nothing of his removing to Windsor or Weymouth—but I believe it to be best that he should remain at Kew, as he can be nowhere so quiet as there, and quiet must be necessary to confirm his cure.

The Grenvilles will have been much mortified at their defeat at Ailesbury, as I understood from Mr. Freemantle, who returned on Friday from voting there, that though they expected to be closely pushed, yet that they had no doubts as to the result of the contest.

Adieu; with every good wish to all those at Eden Farm, believe me to be, ever,

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

HENLEY.



Lord Auckland to the Duke of Montrose.

Eden Farm, July 19th, 1804.

My dear Lord, — I have sent to Mr. Freeling the seals and keys of my late office. He will have the honour of presenting them to your Grace. I wish to add from considerations of justice, and from an experience to which I can safely appeal, that there are many excellent officers in the several departments over which your Grace will preside; and that they are well instructed and well controlled by the Secretary, of whose efficiency and strict integrity it is difficult to speak in adequate terms.

I am not aware of any other points which may require explanation; but if anything should arise of that description, I shall be cordially and cheerfully desirous to submit to your Grace any information in my power.

During the several years that I held the office, I thought it right to move in every Session for a statement of our annual payments into the Exchequer. I happened to leave London this year without making that motion; but I am sure that your Grace will have no objection to my moving early in the next Session, as a matter of course, for the usual returns to the period when I ceased to be Postmaster-General. Your Grace will find a great and improving revenue, which has been eventually much benefited by the extensions of the accommodations to the public correspondence.

In some instances I was not deterred from those extensions by an apparent expense beyond the calculated produce, and the result of which experiment was always good.

I have the honour to be, &c.

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, July 31st.

My dear Lord,—I suppose you begin your journey to Tunbridge on Monday next, in order to be present at a *great ball* (*Attendez, Mademoiselles!*)—a *great ball* at Knole on that evening.

How the Middlesex election* may terminate, I don't guess; but it is, I think, fortunate for the public that these noble Jacobins have spoken out, and returned to their vomit. The world began, foolishly in my opinion, to give them credit for being returned to be good citizens and lovers of order! Whatever their *own sense* or understanding may be, nothing wise or steady can be expected from them; whilst they continue to be (as Mrs. Armstead once emphatically, and in a becoming language, expressed them to be) under the influence and direction of those artful and profligate —, on *each side* of — house.

I hope you are amused with two anecdotes in Monday's newspaper. One, that the *Legion of Honour* is recommended by the Emperor to restore and preserve the *feudal régime*! The other, that the Government of Botany Bay have begun to *transport* convicts to Van Diemen's Land! So rolls the world round and round!

There is another paragraph as curious, though not quite so new—that the heir-apparent to this throne is driving Jack Day and Travis† the Jew in his barouche at Brighton races!!!

What a strange scene all this exhibits!

I am, my dear Lord, yours, faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

* Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Mainwaring were contesting Middlesex. The latter was returned.

† A money lender.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, August 2nd, 1804.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I received your notes of the 1st and 2nd, and must now believe that the pension * to Lady Auckland will take place, though I can discover nothing in any of the circumstances of the case which would enable me to agree with Long that Mr. Pitt “had done an unkind thing in the kindest manner.” Your decision upon a view of the whole question has, in my opinion, been such as, in point of prudence, your situation required; but Mr. Pitt can never justify his having acted by you in a manner so contrary to everything you had a right to expect. A discussion, however, upon that point is now useless, and I will not take up your time by these reflections, which naturally suggest themselves upon so wanton and unfeeling a transaction.

The King certainly looked well and cheerful at the House of Lords, and I will report to you what I think of him on my return from Windsor on Sunday.

A reconciliation between the King and the Prince, for the purpose of prevailing upon Lord Moira to take office, probably the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, with Tierney for his secretary, is, I conceive, just now the object at which Mr. Pitt is working; and, if it can be attained, must have the effect of considerably strengthening his Government. Yorke and any other stray bird that he can catch, he will of course lay hold of during the prorogation. Nepean, notwithstanding his appointment at the Admiralty, does not yet vacate his Irish office. Corry, who by-the-bye is to have £2000 per annum for life, told me that Nepean goes to Ireland in a very few days. I dined yesterday at Lord Castlereagh’s, where I met Lord Hawkesbury; but learned nothing worth mentioning. Love to all at Eden Farm.

Yours, affectionately,

HOBART.

* Of 500*l.* a year.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, August 16th, 1804.

My dear Beresford, — We accomplished our little excursion pleasantly and prosperously ; and, after having passed four days at Tunbridge, one at Lord Sheffield's, and one at the Speaker's, we found all our infantry here in high health and good looks. But we have weather which is not good either for man or beast ; and I fear that the harvests will be very moderate, both in quality and quantity.

I am heartily glad, for Miss Beresford's sake, that you mean, when you leave Clifton, to settle at Dawlish. Sir Walter Farquhar speaks well of that climate for tender lungs. Perhaps you may have some call to London, and, consequently, to Eden Farm, before the winter commences ; but, if not, I will occasionally send such information as may interest you.

It is not improbable that Mr. Rose is at least as much disgusted as you suspect. In fact, he is put aside, though with an honourable and lucrative office ;* and his old colleague† has the fullest confidence. I have always lived on the same cordial and friendly terms with the latter, who was not so foolish as to quarrel with me because I did not hesitate to declare to all the world, that the breaking up of the old Ministry, on the pretext of the Catholic question, was at least an act of folly and an absurdity. I think so still, and perhaps I think worse of it even than ever, and I shall always think that Mr. Pitt's reserves towards me in that business were neither just nor honourable in respect to one with whom he was living, and had long lived, in a system of unbounded confidence. But, whether I were right or wrong in that business, is now a matter of small moment, and an old history. And, be all that as it may, our old friend Rose should have shown the same kindness to me

* Paymaster General.

† Mr. Long.

which I showed to him and to his sons in many essential instances, and which kindness I felt, and still feel, for them all. In my view of the business, I have cordially forgiven them all; in their view of the business, if they still feel that they ought to stand aloof, they only prove to me that none are so unrelenting as those who feel that they are wrong. I wish that you may have some occasion to express these sentiments for me.

I have frequent and authentic accounts from Windsor; and on the whole they are perfectly good, though sometimes there is a return of the hurried manner which gives alarm and uneasiness; but it is only in family scenes, and time and quiet may get the better of it. The reconciliation with the Prince has not yet been accomplished.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

(Secret.)

Thursday, August 23rd.

My dear Brother,—The interview* of Monday terminated, as I understand, much to the satisfaction of both parties; that projected for yesterday did not take place, though their Majesties and the Princesses went for the purpose to Kew, but were disappointed, the Prince being unwell, and having sent thither his excuse. I am most heartily sorry for it, as you will also be.

If, as our Addiscombe neighbour† says, Ministers do not relish the Weymouth journey, I wonder that they did not find means to thwart it. I have ever sincerely deprecated it, and do so still; but it is fully determined upon, and will be carried into execution to-morrow; the intention is to set out after breakfast, to stop at Sir William Pitt's for a little time, then go

* Between the King and the Prince of Wales. † Lord Liverpool.

to Andover, where the two youngest Princesses are to stay, and to proceed from thence when they go to bed, by which arrangement the arrival at Weymouth will be on Saturday morning at about four. Sir F. Milman is to be in waiting there. The return is now fixed for October 28th, and on the 8th of November, the Princess Augusta's birthday, there is to be a ball at the Castle, which their Majesties will, on their return, inhabit, and which, I fear, may render the new uniform necessary; but it is looking very far forward, and sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.

I entirely agree with you on the subject of the invasion, and have very great doubts as to the accuracy of the information of Government; the report of the camp equipage being ready is true.

The cream-coloured horses are brought hither from London, and black ones are substituted in their room, which will be a subject of regret to all the residents of London.

What say you to the Warsaw story? It strikes me as being neither *vrai ni vraisemblable*.

The January quarter is paid.

We purpose to go this evening to the terrace to take leave. Adieu.

Ever yours, obediently and affectionately,

HENLEY.

P.S. Before I go to dress I will add that I have just heard, and from good authority, that the Prince's excuse was sent from Bushey by a groom, and that the answer contained expressions of regret for his illness, and that the meeting must necessarily be postponed till the return from Weymouth; and that, if it then took place, it must be in the presence of the Queen and Princesses. A note to this effect was inclosed for the Princess. The Chancellor was at Kew. It is supposed that the Prince expresses himself much dissatisfied that a house should be prepared for the Princess Charlotte at Windsor; certainly she is invited to the ball of the 8th November; and being

told that she might bring a friend, she instantly named her mother. Mr. Pitt, I further heard, had asked an audience of the Queen; whether or no it will take place I know not: the intended interview was, I believe, strongly urged by the Ministers.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Cuffnells, September 9th, 1804.

My dear Auckland,—I received your letter with enclosure, which is certainly decisive; and although not very satisfactory to me, yet certainly I believe, from a perusal of the statutes, is too well founded. It will be the cause of some trouble and expense, but that cannot be helped. I suppose the omission of the case will be rectified next session.

I have been here since Monday last. I have not seen Rose looking so well these three years as he does at present, notwithstanding that he, like my poor old friend John Robinson, continues to write from six in the morning until near four in the afternoon about something or nothing. Yesterday was his day of election of magistrate at Christ Church, and I accompanied him first to his cottage, and then to his dinner there, which was sumptuous, and seemed to please the guests. I did not get home till ten o'clock. I thought the best way of impressing Rose with your feelings about him and his family was to read to him as much of your letter as related to them; and I convey to you, as nearly as I can, in his own words, what he said on the instant. He fixed upon the words animosities and resentments, and after solemnly assuring me that no such sensation had ever entered his breast, he said, "You may say to Lord Auckland, that not having a feeling of animosity to any human being (not even against his neighbour at Dulwich*), I can have none in his

* Lord Thurlow, who had endeavoured to turn Mr. George Rose's sinecure place of Clerk of the House of Lords into a reality.

case. I have lately given unequivocal evidence of an opposite feeling with respect to his family. Politics alone never kept me at a distance from any one in private society. I had lived a good while in habits of affectionate friendship with Lord Auckland, and I had availed myself of frequent opportunities of proving its sincerity on my part; but when his Lordship, from whatever motive, took the line he did in the House of Lords, which gave (I will fairly own I thought) just offence to Mr. Pitt, finding the latter decided to make it a ground of separation, I found it would be impossible for him and me to meet comfortably; and thinking it better not to meet coldly after our past intercourse, I was induced to write to him and say so; but as to resentment, I desire to disdain it as utterly abhorrent to my mind. There has been no time in which this family has not wished to hear good accounts of his."

These were Rose's words as nearly as I could retain them. I am sure I have not mistaken his meaning. Upon the whole, it is my decided opinion after a long conversation, that it is his wish to live well with you, which is best done by avoiding all explanation.

Believe me, yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

CHAP. XLV.

State of the Royal Family. — Quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales respecting the Guardianship of the Princess Charlotte. — Character of Lord Harrowby. — Reconciliation between Pitt and Addington — Lord Melville's Fall. — Lord Sidmouth resigns. — His Interview with the King.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henley.

(Quite confidential.)

September 11th, 1804.

My dear Morton,—It may be worth twopence to you to know what I have learnt respecting the patron*, as it comes from the *very best authority*.† Those who are in some degree most responsible do not hesitate to say, that his personal, mental and vocal activity are all such as exceed what is safe for him; and that he takes too little rest. Some attempts have been made to induce him to lie down for a couple of hours in the day, but without success. In respect to the patroness‡ he is very oddly circumstanced. He never mentions her with disrespect; but he marks unequivocally, and by many facts, that he is dissatisfied with her, and is come to a decided system of checking her knowledge of what is going forward, and her interference between him and the heir, &c. &c. In the large house to which he is to move on his return, he is to have a range of apartments totally separate from hers, and even talks of having occasional society (I mean of men visitors, &c.) to himself. Her temper is represented as restless and fractious in the extreme; but as to that point

* The King. † Lord Liverpool, the confidential adviser of the King.

‡ The Queen.

one ought to hear the other side of the question. Within the family there are strange schisms and cabals and divisions among the sons and daughters. One of the two youngest of the latter dines alternately with the patron, and nobody else. He talks of making separate and independent provisions for the daughters. He has ordered the library to be removed to the great house in your neighbourhood from the town house of the Queen, and he wishes to annex it as an heirloom. He is also removing other valuable articles. The actual lodge is to be for the officers and attendants; and the house nearly adjoining and newly purchased is to be for the granddaughter, with an apartment for the mother, to be inhabited by her when invited to that quarter. You will have heard that Ariadne and others of the inmates of the great house are ousted. The discontinuance of all residence at the town house is to be another mark of separation. What I mentioned about Greenwich has certainly been communicated, though not yet executed. Many other more minute particulars were communicated to me. The impression upon the whole made on my mind is very disagreeable. *Possibly* a change may take place for the better, but it is more likely to be for the worse; and at any rate likely to upset the whole of that admiration of private goodness and exemplary temper in domestic life which was very material to be preserved. All well here.

Yours, very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Lowther, September 19th, 1804.

My dear Lord Auckland,—As the beauties of Eden Farm are quite sufficient to occupy your attention, I do not trouble you with a description of those with which we have been gratified in this part of the world,

and which have fully answered all the expectation we could have formed of them.

Our stay here is prolonged until to-morrow—having yet much to see, and being entirely at our ease.

You know the amazing extent of property the Lowthers have in this county; but no man can easily estimate the amount to which it is likely to rise in the hands of a man of most discreet understanding, with a very conciliating manner, who lives hospitably and well, with a constant and prudent regard to all his essential interests. I take Lord Lowther* to be the first political card, with a view to Parliamentary support, that a public man can look at; and that Mr. Pitt has him completely I need not tell you.

Our conversation upon politics has been quite general: upon the subject, of Lord Lowther I could have nothing to learn, and I did not wish to sport opinions.

Your accounts of a certain great man† are not satisfactory. It is a melancholy circumstance to see a family that had lived so well together, for such a number of years, completely broken up. Dr. J. Willis told me (as an old acquaintance), most confidently, that things would never be quite right. This opinion, however, cannot be considered entirely free from prejudice.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, November 1st, 11 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I did not think the prospect of a Spanish war was quite so near as I take for granted it must be from the private communication you understood to have been made to the merchants. That being the case, it is unlucky that the garrison of Gibraltar should have suffered so much, and that at a time when it will be so difficult to send

* Father of the present Lord Lonsdale.

† The King.

an efficient relief without prejudice to many other most urgent demands. Calvert (the adjutant-general) told me yesterday, that they had not yet an official report of the deaths in that garrison, but there was reason to apprehend that the casualties in the artillery exceeded eighty.

We dined the other day at Combe, when Lord Hawkesbury took me aside to tell me that he had reason to believe that the Catholic question* was to be brought forward by the Opposition in the course of the session, and that petitions were actually preparing in Ireland. In whatever manner Mr. Pitt may treat the subject, the discussion cannot fail to be extremely embarrassing to him. Resist it he must, and he cannot do so without discrediting the professed principle upon which he quitted office; and with the little character he has left, I hardly think even his cloquence will enable him to make a case that can save him from severe animadversion. At best, he must hold up the King to the Catholics as the individual whom they are to consider as the sole obstacle to the attainment of their wishes, and the Prince of Wales as the person to whom they are to look for the accomplishment of everything. In whatever covering this sentiment is conveyed, it must be offensive and possibly injurious to the King, and will not be satisfactory to a large proportion of his English subjects; but as England is now in a minority in the House of Commons, that circumstance may not be deemed of much importance.

Affectionately yours,
HOBART.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Cooper's Hill, November 6th.

My dear Brother,—The King told me that it had been intimated to him yesterday that the Archbishop's

* It was brought forward in the House of Lords by Lord Grenville, in the Commons by Mr. Fox. It was successfully opposed by Mr. Pitt's Government.

situation* was such that it were to be wished that he (the Archbishop) could be prevailed upon to appoint some bishop to do his business, and that he had in answer signified that there was no hurry, as he had two discreet chaplains and a secretary who could be relied on: he added, that his chapel in the castle being under repair, he had settled with the Bishop of Norwich to take the sacrament in the cathedral at Christmas, where the Archbishop could not officiate, and consequently, he hoped, he would not be hurt at not being invited down.

His Majesty was well and in good spirits.—I must conclude.

Ever yours,
HENLEY.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, November 9th, 11½ P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I had yesterday a two hours' ride with Mr. Addington, but do not think anything particular occurred.

You will probably have heard that the Catholics were to have had their great meeting on Saturday last, at which it was expected all descriptions of them, from the highest to the lowest, would attend at a chapel in Dublin, for the purpose of passing their petition to the Imperial Protestant Parliament; and I observe, by the papers, that Lord Fingal is dining with Nepean†, where, of course, one of the first toasts after dinner must be the Chancellor of Ireland.‡

What food is preparing for the next session, and what an *unusual* scene of political craft and duplicity will be exhibited!—Love to all at Eden Farm.

Yours, affectionately,
HOBART.

* The Archbishop of Canterbury was dying, and the King was determined that Dr. Manners Sutton should succeed him, in opposition to the wishes of Mr. Pitt, who was desirous that Dr. Prettyman should be appointed.

† The Irish Secretary.

‡ Lord Redesdale.

Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, November 13th, 10 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—Having received a summons to attend the Privy Council this day upon Picton's business, I was in hopes to have picked up something worth communicating. On my arrival, however, in town, I found a note saying the business was put off, owing, as I was informed by Fawkner, to a quarantine discussion, which was considered more pressing.

Nothing can be more discreditable than the shameful delays in this proceeding, and I am much afraid it will involve the parties concerned in it in no small degree of disgrace. You will have heard that the meeting between the King and Prince took place yesterday, and you will observe that the Government papers attach to the full as much importance to it as it is likely to produce. The immediate effect, I have little doubt, will be seen in Lord Moira and Mr. Tierney's coming into office—and I should not be surprised to see it stop there—but I have seen nobody who could give me any information upon the subject.

The total failure of the Military Bill has been confirmed to me this day, beyond any possibility of question. A letter from my mother rather discourages our going immediately to Nocton, for fear of creating blame: our journey is therefore postponed. We shall be very anxious for a good account of Emily.

Affectionately yours,

HOBART.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.*

Coleby, November 25th, 10 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I return Mr. Beresford's most interesting letter, which, I am sorry to say, allowing for some exaggeration, exhibits a state of

* Lord Hobart's father was dead.

things in Ireland which is most incompatible, and, indeed, alarming to every man whose income depends on the continuance of the connection with this country; but what better can be hoped for, when great public characters are so base as to make the most important concerns of that part of the United Kingdom entirely subservient to the inconsistent and inexplicable motives by which they govern their political conduct?

Professing their sense of the necessity of Catholic emancipation, after they had brought forward the Union to preclude it—going out of office because it could not be brought forward, and, upon their return to power, throwing the whole force of Government into the hands of the most determined enemy* of the Catholics—who employs that force to ruin the men who supported the Union which he opposed, and to annihilate the patronage of the Crown, in the hope that they may reduce it sufficiently low to be unequal to resist his popularity. But this is a subject that would fill volumes.

You may be assured, and I do not speak lightly, that Mr. Nathaniel Bond, under present circumstances, will not succeed Sir Charles Morgan.† My rental is certainly in no proportion to the length of my name, but turns out better than I expected.

Affectionately yours,
BUCKS.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Wednesday, November 23rd.

It appears to be the received opinion that the main object of the journey‡ to Bath was to take advice§ on the means of resisting the claims of the guardians of Lord Hugh Seymour's little girl, who insist on withdrawing her from the hands of Mrs. Fitzherbert, who, by her friend's account, feels on the occasion all the

* Mr. Foster.

† Of the Prince of Wales.

‡ As Judge Advocate.

§ From Lord Thurlow.

pangs of the most tender mother. Nor does his Royal Highness, they say, suffer less. Their suspense will not be over till Friday, and probably the point will be decided against them, as, though Lord Hertford, one of the guardians, as usual, trims, the other, Lord Henry Seymour, is peremptory, notwithstanding the Prince professes that he is ready to settle on the child 10,000*l*. Perhaps, also, his Royal Highness took some opinion relative to his own child, which, I am assured, he will not consent to place under the care of the King. I was told yesterday that the place of Lady Elgin*, should the Princess finally go to Windsor, had been offered to Lady Ilchester, and declined. Adieu.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe Place, Thursday morning.

My dear Lord, — I am much obliged by your inquiries after my health; I continue as well as when you last saw me. The weather is certainly very severe, and by keeping at home I endeavour to avoid the ill effects of it.

I am sorry to hear that the archbishop is so very ill; if he should continue to live and return to Lambeth, it will be wise for his own sake, as well as that of the public, to divest himself, in some proper manner, of all business.

The King communicated in writing to the Prince of Wales his intended arrangement with respect to Princess Charlotte, leaving blanks for the names of persons who are to fill up the respective situations. Immediately afterwards the Prince set out for Bath, from whence I concluded that he went there to consult Lord Thurlow on the subject of this arrangement; — and I have reason to believe that he has taken one step at least to prevent it. It will, however, be carried into execution, for none of the King's servants doubt of his Majesty's right on this occasion.

* Governess of the Princess Charlotte.

If I were informed of the names of the persons who are to fill the respective situations, it would be improper in me to disclose them, as the King has not thought proper to disclose them, even to the person most concerned. From what I know of the King's opinion of Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Exeter, I am inclined to credit what is said concerning him; but I give no credit to what you say of Lady Ilchester.

I know that the King wishes to have Mr. Bond in the place of Sir C. Morgan, but I have not heard that the proposition has been actually made to him. I know the difficulty which embarrasses this business.

Lord Hawkesbury passed Monday and Tuesday in Windsor and its neighbourhood, and was to return to town as yesterday morning. I have not yet heard, however, whether he did actually return yesterday.

Lady Liverpool and Charlotte join with me in best compliments to you all.

I am, with great regard, my dear Lord, your faithful, humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Rochampton, Sunday Night.

My dear Lord Auckland,—By the little news I have been able to pick up in the course of this morning, I should imagine nothing can be more deplorable than the interior of a certain great house at Windsor—the whole family divided into parties, and everything going on as ill as possible. I also understand that not only the expectation of those political advantages Mr. Pitt had reckoned upon from the reconciliation* had been completely and wholly disappointed, but that the parties ostensibly reconciled were likely to be at greater variance than ever, and that very early in the session a question would be moved in Parliament respecting the custody of the young Princess—an expedient happily conceived for placing

* Between the King and the Prince of Wales.

the family differences upon a permanent foundation. Tierney, I am told, is much disconcerted at his project of enabling himself to take office under Mr. Pitt, without giving up the Prince as the best card, and, to his sorrow, declines the Irish secretaryship. Lord Redesdale, I understand, talks of retiring upon his pension, and that Gibbs,* in that case, will be his successor. We propose going to you on Monday (to-morrow) night. Love to all at Eden Farm.

Yours, affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, December 3rd, 1804, 11 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I this day received your letters of Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, and heartily rejoice that the grant has at length been signed.†

No man who will take the trouble to inquire into your public services can question your fair pretensions to the retreat that has been given to you; but every man must blame the measure which so wantonly imposed that expense upon the country. You, however, have the advantage of an income nearly equal to that of which you have been deprived, and whenever you return to office you have the grace of diminishing the public expense.

I am sorry Mr. Long is ill; but when I recollected the indecent haste with which you were dismissed from the Post Office, I could not help smiling at his assurance that the procrastination of the grant was the effect of habit, not of disinclination.

Beresford's account (*con amore*) of Donoughmore *versus* Foster is admirable; but the whole of Mr. Pitt's system, with respect to Ireland, is so inconsistent, impolitic and ungenerous, that it is impos-

* Sir Vicary.

† Lord Auckland, in a letter to Mr. Beresford, expresses his satisfaction at Mr. Pitt's conduct in this matter.

sible to reflect upon it without disgust and indignation.

My sister writes from Windsor that the Duke of Portland is given over.

Affectionately yours,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe Place, December 5th, 1804.

My dear Lord,—I learnt yesterday by accident, that the Lord Chancellor had, for two successive mornings, held long conferences with Lord Hawkesbury; and this evening I have heard for certain, that the Prince had written two very improper letters to the Lord Chancellor on the King's intended arrangement of the family of the Princess Charlotte; so, at least, they are described to me. After due consideration, it had been thought right to communicate these letters to the King; and I have the satisfaction to add, that his Majesty bore the perusal of these letters with more calmness and temper than was expected. He and his ministers are determined at all events to go through with this business; and Mr. Barnes is informed by a letter from Exeter, that the Bishop* left Exeter unexpectedly, so that he has probably been sent for, and is by this time at Windsor. As this business is now become of importance, I am curious to read the report of the opinion of the judges in 1718. If you have the book of reports which contains this report, I wish you would lend it me, and send it by the servant who brings this.

My information says that Sutton, Bishop of Norwich, will, most probably, succeed to the archbishopric†, but that nothing is yet absolutely determined.

I am, with sincere regard, my dear Lord, your faithful, humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

* Dr. Fisher.

† Of Canterbury. The Archbishop died January 18th, 1805.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Hertford Street, December 7th, 1804.

My dear Brother,—I shall, with pleasure, expect you to-morrow morning, and though we are thus early to meet, I will scrawl you a few lines. We were last night at the Queen's house. The party was small; only four men besides the Duke of Sussex. The King we did not see, as he had set out at half-past six for Kew. The new residence at Windsor does not appear to please the female part of the family.

Lord Grenville has hurt his leg, and is coming or is come to town to consult a surgeon. His brother, who was to have gone yesterday to Cashibury, put it off in order to see him. His Lordship is a bad subject for such a complaint.

The displeasure of the Prince is the general topic of conversation, but the effects of it I fear less than the agitation of the Catholic question. Ministers will, doubtless, be hard pressed.

I went to see the young Roscius with an unprejudiced mind, or rather, perhaps, with the opinion you seem to have formed of him; and left the theatre in the highest admiration of his wonderful talents. As I scarcely remember Garrick, I may say (though there be, doubtless, room for improvement) that I never saw such fine acting; and yet the poor boy's voice was, that night, a good deal affected by a cold. I would willingly pay a guinea for a place on each night of his appearing in a new character.

Adieu. Ever your obedient and affectionate brother,

HENLEY.

P.S. Lady Henley gives a good account of the Archbishop. I understand that his Majesty is desirous, should he die, that Sutton should succeed

him, but that Mr. Pitt insists on its being Lincoln*, and that the question has been in debate between them.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

My dear Lord, — I have received your letter by my servant, and return an immediate answer to say, that I know that the judges' opinion in 1718 is reported at length. Lord Ellenborough told me so; he mentioned the book of reports, and I think it was Fortescue's Reports: this point is easily ascertained. I have been thinking, as an official man, in what manner the King will send for the Princess; probably he will first appoint the Bishop of Exeter her preceptor, and then furnish him with a sign manual, countersigned by my son, directing Lady Elgin to deliver the Princess into the Bishop's care, and to come with her to Windsor. I should not be surprised if there was even an Order in Council. By a letter just received, I find that the Privy Council sat very late, but this may be accounted for, as there was a Recorder's report. All these points of form were probably settled between the Chancellor and my son in their conferences.

The King certainly visited the Princess, and probably told her a great deal, but I do not believe that any other person has been yet appointed to her Royal Highness's household, except the Bishop of Exeter. The Prince has certainly not been consulted, nor has the Princess. But the Prince, I am persuaded, knows as much of the detail as the Princess does. The child will rejoice that she is taken out of the custody of her father. It is not true that the Chancellor has decided the point respecting Miss Seymour. He has

* Dr. Prettyman's letters in the Rose Correspondence prove how anxious he was to succeed Dr. Moore; but the King was determined to give the archbishopric to Dr. Sutton, and Mr. Pitt had not the slightest chance of succeeding against the King's wishes.

referred it to a Master, and he will decide when the Master's report is made to him. You will be surprised to hear that the Seymour family found their application, on the danger to which Miss Seymour's religion may be exposed, by her connection with a certain lady; this will make a great noise. I have no doubt but that the Bishop of Lincoln is ready to accept the Archbishopric, but this consideration will have no effect on the appointment.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe Place, Sunday.

My dear Lord,—I have received this morning by your servant the favour of your letter, and I am obliged to you for the intelligence contained in it; and for the opinion of the judges in 1718 * which you have been so obliging as to send me. I have Mr. Hargraves' volume of the State Trials, in which this opinion is printed. The opinion is a very clear one, and, I am persuaded, was drawn by Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield. Of the judges who differed, Mr. Justice Eyre was, I believe, a man of considerable character; but I believe that Mr. Baron Price was not of that description. On the other hand, Parker, King, Pratt and Fortescue were certainly very great lawyers. The opinion was then acquiesced in—it was acquiesced in on a subsequent contest. The case is at present much stronger. There is no lady in the Prince of Wales's house proper to have the care of his daughter. The lady† with whom he is most connected, is highly improper on many accounts—from the nature of her connection with his Royal Highness, and from her religion; and it would be a very extraordinary circumstance if one noble family should, for the reasons above stated, forcibly withdraw a child of theirs from the

* In 1718 the majority (nine) of the judges decided that George I. had the right to the guardianship of his grandchildren.

† Mrs. Fitzherbert.

house of his Royal Highness, and the King should not exercise his lawful prerogative in preserving from such a connection, his grand-daughter, and the heiress of his kingdoms. I care very little for what was said on this subject in the debate on the Marriage Act. I recollect the debate in gross, but not the particulars. All that was then said against it was declamation on natural rights, by political combatants, and not of the purest moral character.

What you tell me of Lord Harrowby, has often rolled in my own mind, since I heard of the accident; but I was cautious of ever expressing it. Few know Lord Harrowby better than myself. He has a very sharp understanding, but a wretched mind, or a very distempered body which operates on his mind; I do not pretend to determine which. This last circumstance disqualifies him for business. I suffered from it when he acted under me*, and it is impossible to describe in terms sufficiently strong, what I endured. His father once talked to me upon it. I have heard that he has a bad temper; but this temper never showed itself to me, so that I know nothing of it. Though reasonably rich, he is interested. He submits to Mr. Pitt's directions in every respect, and this submission covers a multitude of defects. I never could submit in a like degree, and therefore I never was a favourite. All this, however, is of little importance.

I do not suppose that either the Duke of Portland or the Archbishop can last long, though they are at present better. The King likes the Duke of Portland, who has certainly many very good qualities.

We all join in compliments to you all; and I am, with very sincere regard, my dear Lord, your faithful humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

* As Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe, Thursday.

My dear Lord,—I send you herewith the eleventh volume of the State Trials. I received last night a letter by a messenger. My son tells me that he was a great while with the King yesterday, that his Majesty was perfectly well and even in spirits. He acknowledges that the King had been subject to some irritation, occasioned by reading the letters from the Prince of Wales to the Chancellor, but that it had been much exaggerated, and that he was now quite well.

Lord Moira was come to town, and it was hoped that he would act a fair and honourable part. You see how little what the Prince says is to be relied on.

Hawkesbury tells me that he will, if he can, come here to-day or to-morrow. As the weather is so severe, I have given him no encouragement, but I shall be happy to see him if he comes, and then I shall learn all that has passed.

I am, with sincere regard, my dear Lord, your faithful, humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe Place, Saturday, December 22nd, 1804.

My dear Lord,—I am obliged to you for your note. Lord Hawkesbury came to me here yesterday evening, and after he had told me accurately all that had passed about the Prince, I am surprised to observe how little the reports that have been circulated have any real foundation. As far as the Prince's consent is of any importance, it was given at least five months ago, in a letter from Lord Moira; and his lordship acts fairly and honourably, in avowing the transaction. I do not believe that his lordship will set out for Scotland on Monday. When Lord Moira

has tried the effect of his influence with the Prince of Wales, I conclude that the King's servants will proceed in carrying the King's orders into execution; and the delay has only been occasioned by giving Lord Moira an opportunity to exert his influence, so as to prevent any resistance. Hawkesbury was remarkably well and in high spirits. I myself passed but an indifferent night, and consequently am not so well to-day.

I am, with sincere regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship's faithful, humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

Mr. Pitt being disappointed in securing the assistance of the Prince's friends, now turned to his former friend, Mr. Addington.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Sunday Night.

The great event of the day is the reconciliation of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, brought about, it is said, by the immediate interposition of the King. It is related with such confidence that I transmit it to you lest the weather should prevent your coming to town to-morrow.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Roehampton, December 24th.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I am this moment returned from Mr. Addington, and shall scarcely save the post, so have only time to say, that the meeting with Mr. Pitt took place yesterday at Combe—that its effect appears to have produced a complete reconciliation, and my opinion is, that political connection must instantly follow. I have much to say about myself, and for the present can only inform you that, though eventually I may derive advantage, I do not see my way to anything immediate. You may, however,

rest assured that you will not see me set off for Ireland.

Happy Christmas to all at Eden Farm.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

December 24th.

Since my note of this morning I have had a long conversation with one of Mr. Addington's zealous adherents, who expressed much surprise and some discontent at the recent reconciliation. He mentioned many instances of the King's constant and gracious attention to his late minister, and amongst others a letter, which accompanied the present, of his own and the Queen's pictures, to be placed in a particular room that was named, and in which his Majesty had been pleased to say that he was painted in those robes in which he had so often, with pleasure, heard Mr. Addington ably and eloquently expatiate on the excellences of our constitution. The interview on Saturday, he added, arose, as he believed, from Mr. Addington having requested his Majesty to appoint a day for him to return some confidential papers with which he had been intrusted; but he could not tell me whether either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Addington were aware that they were to meet. He speaks confidently of the secretaryship having been offered to Mr. Yorke altogether independent of this new business.

I should like to have seen the party at Stowe, on receiving the news. Mr. Windham, I am told, exclaimed, "a fine humbug! but it is good that we know on whom we may rely!"

Your paper of this morning contains the arguments which I heard so angrily adduced on Friday, and which are loudly insisted on by the party. I cannot think that if the Prince perseveres in withholding his consent, the extremity you mention will be resorted to.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, Sunday Night.

My dear Lord Auckland, — Mr. Addington had a long interview with Mr. Pitt yesterday*, and expressed himself much satisfied with everything that had passed, although, no answer having been received from the Duke of Portland, the arrangements could not be finally settled. They (Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt) are to meet again to-morrow, when it is to be hoped all will be completed. Sullivan is to be of the Privy Council.

You shall hear again when I have anything more to communicate.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

(Secret.)

P.S. I understand that everything is settled with the Prince†, concerning the Princess Charlotte.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Roehampton, January 7th, 1805.

My dear Lord Auckland, — Mr. Addington has this moment been here, after an interview with Mr. Pitt.

The Duke of Portland's answer has been received.

It would seem that the Duchy of Lancaster was offered to him, and that his decision upon that point has not yet been received.

He expresses great satisfaction (as I am told, for I have not seen the letter) at the reconciliation and proposed arrangement — states the necessity he had felt, on account of his health, of relinquishing the Presidency of the Council, and adds, *as a proof* of his approbation of all that is going on, that he abstains

* Sunday the 23rd, at Combe Wood, Lord Hawkesbury's seat.

† The Prince gave way.

from at once pronouncing against the acceptance of the Duchy, so that for a few days longer my fate must be undecided, though I am inclined to think that his Grace will cling to office. Mr. Addington is much pleased with the cordiality of Mr. Pitt; and present appearances are extremely promising, as to their continuing on good terms.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

P.S. Say nothing of Sullivan's going to the Privy Council.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, January 11th, 11 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—A note this moment received from Lord Sidmouth*, not Lord Raleigh, but late Mr. Addington, informs me that the Duke of Portland has declined the Duchy, and I shall therefore kiss hands for it on Monday. Have the goodness to let my servant feed his horse at your stable and return immediately.

I should very much doubt the authenticity of your intelligence that Lord Mulgrave is *locum tenens*† for Lord Wellesley.

If you see your southern neighbour‡, get from him all the information you can respecting the Duchy.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Grosvenor Place, February 4th, 1805.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I have nothing new to communicate—and, perhaps, it is hardly worth while to say, that there is no foundation whatsoever for the

* Lord Sidmouth became President of the Council.

† At the Foreign Office.

‡ Lord Liverpool.

newspaper accounts of jealousies and differences between the friends recently reconciled.

Lord Hawkesbury asked me yesterday whether you would be in the House on Friday upon the Spanish business. My answer was that I did not believe you would be in town.

My opinion, however, is, that by coming to London the very next day, it will be conceived that you purposely avoided to attend the debate, and that the disposition which you really feel towards the Government will be misunderstood by all parties—as I am persuaded that no other inference but that of your being unfriendly will be drawn from such a circumstance, and that the line of conduct which, I judge by your letter of the 27th, it is your intention to pursue, will become the more difficult.

Ever yours, affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Wednesday.

I found the gentlemen at B.'s* last night *ivres de joie*, so far had their success† surpassed their most sanguine expectations; and I understood that the satisfaction expressed on the occasion in the city is not less great—nor will it probably be less so in every town and village on this side the Tweed. Soon after I left you I met Lady Perth, who told me of the dinner that took place yesterday at the Admiralty—the Duchess of Gordon was one of the guests, and in the evening said that the host received them with so much ease and cheerfulness, that a stranger never could have suspected what had passed the preceding evening.

The report in St. James's Street to-day is, that motions will be made this evening in the House of

* Brooke's.

† The vote of censure on Lord Melville, carried by the casting vote of the Speaker.

Commons to order Trotter to be prosecuted, and to petition the King to strike Lord Melville from the list of Privy Councillors, and to remove him from the place of Privy Seal in Scotland. I hope that the King will have anticipated them as to the Privy Council, and with regard to the other, being for life, some process must, I suppose, be adopted. As to the successor* at the Admiralty, it was last night generally thought that it would be an Addingtonian, and that Yorke would be the man, but to-day Lord Hood and your son-in-law† are named. If I were the latter I should prefer his snug Dowager's place. Lord Fortescue, whom I have just met at White's, told me that he hunted yesterday with the King — the rendezvous was at Stoke Green, where his Majesty arrived about an hour *after* the appointed time. He was well and cheerful; the stag was taken in Cashiobury Park about four o'clock. Lord Fortescue then retired, and met a chaise going for his Majesty from Watford, so that, however short his stay in the house, towards which he walked, he could not have reached Windsor before half-past six — so that Mr. Pitt must have waited there a long while. Of the event the King must have been (and, indeed, Lord Fortescue said that he was) informed‡ before he left the Lodge.

I hope that all this is legible. Sealey is dead; which will detain me in town some days longer.

The 11th report is now *l'ordre du jour*.

Ever yours,

HENLEY.

* Sir Charles Middleton was appointed, contrary to the wish of Lord Sidmouth, who threatened to resign in consequence.

† Lord Buckinghamshire.

‡ The King was informed of the vote just as he was mounting his horse; he only said, "Is that all? I wonder how he slept after it. Bring my horse." The King had not forgotten Lord Melville's conduct to Warren Hastings.

Lord Chichester to Lord Auckland.

Thursday, 5 o'clock.

The proceedings in the House of Commons you will have detailed in your newspaper.

The resolutions have just been laid* before the King, who received them on the throne, and said that he was always desirous of attending to the wishes of his faithful Commons, and was sensible of the importance of the Resolutions.

Many people seem to be dissatisfied with Pitt's conduct, and think that he should either have divided against the Address or acquiesced in it, rather than adopt this less gracious measure.

Kind compliments to all, and believe me to be, ever,
Yours, most faithfully,

CHICHESTER.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Friday.

The notice of his Majesty's intention to receive the Commons yesterday was so very short, that not more than fifty of them accompanied the Speaker. There was no mob in the streets, nor any plaudits. The King heard with the utmost attention the resolutions read; and then taking out his spectacles, read his answer, which in substance was as stated in the "Morning Chronicle" of this day. On retiring he spoke to the Speaker and Mr. C. Adams†, and to them only. The selection of the latter occasioned room for conversation.

Opposition is a little sunk by the result of Wednesday's‡ debate, and a leading man amongst them not only acknowledged to me that they did unwisely

* On the 11th of April.

† M.P. for Weymouth.

‡ On Wednesday, the 10th of April, Mr. Whitbread moved that Lord Melville should be for ever removed from His Majesty's councils. This motion was withdrawn.

not to push their victory on Monday, but added that he should not be surprised if the result of the select committee goes to the rescinding the resolution of Monday.

It is not yet known by the public who is to succeed to the Admiralty. I was told last night that his Majesty had written to his fallen minister, in purport "that he was sorry that his incautious conduct had rendered it necessary for him to retire from his situation of First Lord of the Admiralty, and he hoped posterity would do justice to his character."

I have just heard of the melancholy event at Windlestone.

Mr. William Eden to Lord Auckland.

Palace Yard, Friday, 21st.*

My dear Father,—The debate last night in the House of Commons was rather languid. Grey moved an address to the King not to prorogue Parliament till something more satisfactory was known about the subsidy. He was supported by Fox, Windham, and Lord Temple, and opposed by Mr. Pitt, Lord Castlereagh, and Canning. I went away just before the division, and have not yet learnt the numbers. Fox sneered at the rapid quarrels and reconciliations of the minister. A curious conversation took place (before the debate) upon the prosecution of Lord Melville. Bond gave notice that on Tuesday he should move that the Attorney-General be directed to leave out of his proceedings what relates to Jellicoe's debt. The Attorney-General took the opportunity of stating to the House that he was under great difficulties, and desired further instructions. Whitbread and Fox and Sheridan repeated that impeachment would have been the best mode. Mr. Pitt said that, if it had been *fairly* put to the House, he had no

* Of June.

doubt Lord Melville would not have been prosecuted in any way whatever. Canning said that the House had been placed in this awkward situation not by a majority, but by a minority of fifty—meaning, of course, Bond's flying squadron.

I am, my dear Father,
Your dutiful son,
W. F. P. EDEN.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Roehampton, June 21st.

My dear Lord Auckland,—The debates in the two Houses last night, according to my view of them, will be found pregnant, but to what they may ultimately give birth, I do not quite pretend to have formed a satisfactory opinion. To widen the breach between Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt, appears evidently to have been the object of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, accompanied by some disposition, as I am informed, on the part of the latter to open a broad bottom negotiation.

It would seem probable that after all an impeachment will be substituted for the criminal prosecution, and I wish it may not be founded on a sanguine speculation that the Lords will be more tractable than the King's Bench.

I should be glad that Eleanor was sufficiently relieved from the pain in her face to allow me to say on what day we can go to you. Your visit here had better be postponed until the beginning of the next month, when we hope to have some peaches ripe.

Love to all at Eden House.

Yours, affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe Place, Wednesday, 3 o'clock P.M.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for your note, which is the more acceptable to me, as

I have hitherto received no account of what passed last night* in the House of Commons. I always thought the prosecution by the Attorney-General in the Court of King's Bench was likely to be more decisive against Lord Melville than an impeachment,—though I do not believe that Mr. Bond† made it with that view. Mr. Pitt, who appears to have been of the same sentiment, has converted this criminal prosecution into an impeachment, and Mr. Leycester was employed, as I suppose, to move it, and it has been carried in no very creditable manner—that is, by a majority of only twenty-three. Mr. Pitt's conduct‡ through the whole of what relates to Lord Melville has been the most extraordinary that ever I knew. I will talk to you more upon it when I see you. He wished to protect Lord Melville, but he has all along been afraid, professedly and avowedly, to undertake it.

I am, my dear Lord, yours, faithfully,

LIVERPOOL.

* On Tuesday, the 25th of June, Mr. Leycester proposed the impeachment of Lord Melville, instead of a criminal prosecution. It was carried by 166 to 143.

† On Tuesday, June 11th, Mr. Bond proposed a criminal prosecution against Lord Melville, which was agreed to.

‡ Lord Holland thinks Mr. Pitt's "conduct on the detection and disgrace of his old colleague, the most amiable passage of his Life." Contradictory accounts have been given of the effect produced on Mr. Pitt by Lord Melville's fall. Mr. Wilberforce seems to have thought it did not affect his health. In the "Journal of Lord Malmesbury," there is an account which, if correct, would show that Mr. Pitt was deeply affected at it. It states that immediately after Mr. Abbot gave his casting vote, "Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing, and I distinctly saw *the tears trickling down his cheeks*. We had overheard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle, of notorious memory, say, they would see 'how Billy looked after it.' A few young ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together, and formed a circle in which he moved, *I believe* unconsciously, out of the House; and neither the Colonel nor his friends could approach him." — *Lord Fitzharris's Note Book* for 1806. There must be some mistakes in this account, for it appears from the *Parliamentary Debates*, that Mr. Pitt moved an amendment, and spoke three times after the vote was given. So that he could not have been so moved; in fact, he was on his legs when strangers entered after the division; and as to the behaviour of Colonel Wardle, it is strange that his name does not appear amongst the majority on this occasion, which probably arose from his not being a member of the House; for, he does not seem to have been elected till June 1807, which makes his appearance in a *Note Book* of 1806 very extraordinary.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roeampton, July 4th, 11 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—Lord Sidmouth's interview with Mr. Pitt this morning—the result of which I was not acquainted with until after my arrival here this evening—terminated in his resignation.* As he saw there was no alternative, and as he was to see the King at the Queen's House immediately after he left Mr. Pitt, Lord Sidmouth thought it better to avail himself of that opportunity to make the communication to the King, which he did accordingly. Lord Sidmouth appears thoroughly satisfied with the manner in which the King received his resignation. But more of all this when we meet.

The tour is given up, as, in the course of to-morrow, will be the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster by

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

July 8th.

Lady Henley and I should have been very glad, if you and Lady Auckland had carried into execution the idea you had, of paying your court yesterday on the terrace. We were there with our company and were kept for the Oratorio: I did not reach home till past one. We learnt that Lord Sidmouth had had a very long audience: what had passed was not even conjectured, and certainly no conjecture could be formed from the King's face, for he was in very good and even spirits. Lord Sidmouth did not appear on the Terrace. Lord Hawkesbury, the Duke of Montrose and Lord Mulgrave were there: to the two

* The ostensible cause of Lord Sidmouth's resignation was the refusal of Mr. Pitt to appoint some friends of his on account of their opposition to Lord Melville.

latter I was told that *he* complained *much* of the delay in preparing the speech and commission for the prorogation; and said, that ready or not ready, he should not delay his departure for Weymouth. He likewise animadverted on the Athol job, and observed that if no better evidence were adduced in support of the Duke's claim than had been brought before the Commons, the Bill* must be thrown out. The Duke of Orleans and his brother were on the Terrace and at the "Messiah," and much distinguished. The Foreign Ministers were not invited to the Oratorio.

I have now to thank you for your letter of Friday, and with regard to that which you say Mr. Tierney mentioned to have been written, I think that the "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes" may be applied. I do not hear that the disorder has made farther progress, in other respects he is evidently better. Excuse this scrawl.

The tenderness which Catherine mentioned to have observed here continues; but as to its suite I can say nothing.

Mr. Cooke † to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, July 9th.

My dear Lord,—Our news to-day is as follows:—Admiral Cochrane arrived in the "Northumberland", and joined the "Spartiate" at Barbadoes the 2nd June. Nelson arrived there on the 4th with twenty sail.

The French had quitted Martinique the 29th May, and steered northward: it was reported they were gone to Trinidad.

On the 5th, Nelson, taking Myers and 2000 men on board, went down to Trinidad. Not finding them there, he steered to Granada, where he learnt from the "Jason" that they had been seen off Dominique. He then proceeded on this and other intelligence,

* For compensating the Duke of Athol for the loss of sovereignty in the Isle of Man.

† Under Secretary of War.

towards Antigua, where he arrived on the 9th. The French had passed the northward of Antigua, the 4th, having left some troops and stores at Guadeloupe. Upon this, Lord Nelson decided in his mind, that the enemy was gone back to Europe; he despatched the "Curious" on the 12th, and it is believed Lord Nelson sailed for Europe on the 13th. He pointed out the track for the "Curious" to pursue, in which track she fell in with the combined squadrons, on the 12th June, in lat. $36^{\circ} 12'$, long. 58° . They were sailing in an unseamanlike manner. Lord Nelson will probably overtake them. Their whole triumph consists in the capture of the "Diamond Rock," when the water failed.

We really want some good news in our distracted state.

Do you ever think of the effects of the Catholic question?

Pray make my best compliments to Lady Auckland, &c., though I have hardly a right to send them.

Ever your Lordship's
Most sincere and faithful servant,
E. COOKE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Tuesday, July 9th.

I received your letter of yesterday, just as I was setting out to attend His Majesty, in his last ride before his Weymouth journey, which is definitely fixed for Friday; on which morning, at nine, he will hold a council at Windsor, at which he told me to attend, for the purpose of signing the last Bills. He was in good spirits, and from there being no longer any irritation or impatience in his manner, I conclude that his general health is improved—and this is the opinion of those who see him more nearly and frequently than I do. He communicated to us the West India news, which is negatively good. To-morrow he goes to town to see his Ministers, and will be

accompanied by the Queen and Princesses,—the former will travel in his chaise with him to Weymouth. Whilst with him, I heard from Mr. Fawkenner,* and he had it from ———— † that Lord Sidmouth on quitting the Council on Thursday last, told Mr. Fawkenner that he had resigned his office, and on his way home, stopped Mr. Sheridan to make the same communication to him, adding, that he might impart it to the Prince of Wales, which was done, and drew from His Royal Highness the observation, “What does the d—d insignificant puppy mean by troubling me?” If it be true that the communication was made to Sheridan, with the request that it should be made to the Prince, it appears that the Doctor is not acting fairly by the King, who it is thought still favours him, and which it is natural to suppose he does, from the long audience of Sunday last, and from, as it is pretended, his not having mentioned on Thursday to Mr. Pitt his having given in his resignation. Here it is thought that the Duke of Montrose will be President of the Council, and Lord Harrowby Chancellor of the Duchy.

Speaking of the King's health, I should have told you that some days ago he mentioned his having refused to allow Dundas to look at his eyes, but this, Lord St. Helens says, he allowed him to do this morning, and that he had found the cataract on the eye that was the least attacked forming very fast. Lord St. H. mentioned what you had written, but seemed to agree with me that no persuasion would avail to have Warre called in to a consultation.

The King bade me tell Mrs. Moore that Lord Melville's House at Wimbledon is to be sold, as the Lord's cousin, the surgeon, had informed him.

* Clerk of the Council.

† Lord Thurlow.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Thursday, July 11th.

We were summoned yesterday evening to the Castle, whither the Royal Family did not return from London till near ten o'clock. Whilst expecting their arrival, I had a long *tête-à-tête* with G. Villiers*, who cleared up the mystery of Lord Sidmouth's audience of Sunday last, which was for the purpose of his full and formal resignation. This the King confirmed during the evening, observing that he might have spared him the trouble of two hours' conversation, since he had thought proper to tell Mr. Sheridan, the preceding Thursday, that he was no longer in office. Villiers added, that the King had said that "he had never been so fatigued with any audience since the time of G. Grenville."† I believe that during the course of it Lord Sidmouth said that it was not the refusal of Mr. Pitt to bring his friends into place that was the cause of his retiring from office. It must, then, it was observed, be a mystery, which time may clear up. His Majesty told us the new appointments, and that he had asked Lord Camden whether his change‡ was to accommodate him (the King) or himself; and that Lord Camden had answered, that he had never liked the office of Secretary. In short, in all this business very little regard has been paid to the poor King's feelings, which, at the moment of the most cruel visitation with which human nature can be inflicted, all those who love him must more particularly feel. He was evidently affected last night, and all the family was low. The Princess Charlotte by her endearments had wrought upon his feelings, and he spake of her with much tenderness. He had seen Phipps at six

* The Hon. George Villiers, father of the present Earl of Clarendon.

† The King, to the last hour of his life, talked with horror of George Grenville's orations.

‡ Lord Camden succeeded Lord Sidmouth as President of the Council, and Lord Castlereagh Lord Camden as Secretary of War.

o'clock, and a gentleman whom he had lately couched of both eyes, at an interval of three weeks, and with perfect success. I was sorry to see the King with a glass (of a very near-sighted man); for though it enables him to distinguish objects, yet it must fatigue his eyes. Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor*, of the Duke of York's office, is to attend him as secretary, to assist him in reading, &c.

There is not to be a Council to-morrow: the mistake Villiers said was caused by Dundas, the surgeon, who, being with his Majesty when Lord Hawkesbury's letter arrived, was told to read it, which he did inaccurately; for it merely said, to spare his Majesty the trouble of a Council, he would himself attend to witness his signature, which must be done by a Privy Councillor. The Archbishop, Lord Chancellor, and Lord President are the Commissioners for the purpose of the Prorogation.

Mr. Pitt has not strengthened his Government by the new changes. Will he, then, take the chance of events during the summer, or will he try a new Parliament? As to Lord Sidmouth, he is—to make use of a vulgar phrase—quite done up; and deservedly, for there is much of folly, not to give it a stronger appellation, in his communication to Sheridan, and irreverence to the good King in the business.

Our best love to Mrs. Moore. Her darling did not appear last night, having gone to bed with the toothache and a swelled face.

* Colonel Herbert Taylor.

CHAP. XLVI.

Coalition against France. — Hopes of Prussian Assistance. — Mack surrenders at Ulm. — The King's Cheerfulness. — State of Affairs at Vienna. — The Battle of Austerlitz. — Illness of Pitt. — His Death.

THE great Coalition of 1805 against France failed, like the preceding ones, chiefly through the vacillation and treachery of Prussia.

It will be seen that neither Lord Auckland nor Lord Henley expected any material aid from that quarter; but Mr. Pitt seems to have been sanguine on this point. Besides this, it appears that the Peace party was still predominant in the councils of Austria, and paralysed the operation of the armies.

"The battle of Austerlitz and its consequences" placed Europe under the dominion of France, and broke the heart of the Great Minister of England, who never rallied after he heard the disastrous news.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Tuesday, July 23rd.

I have just seen two letters from Weymouth, the one dated Sunday, the other yesterday; the first says that on Thursday the King had a considerable degree of inflammation in his eyes, which had a little abated the two following days; that, however, he still rode out, though only a foot-pace, and immediately preceded by a groom; and went to the play, which hitherto was not crowded or hot; that Phipps had arrived on the Sunday, and had said that the inflammation might

produce much good or much evil ; that he had applied leeches, and said that he would remain with his Majesty till the inflammation was removed, and, in short, as long as his presence could be of any use. The letter concludes by saying, "the King is very low,—so are we all." The other letter contains only two lines, saying, leeches have been again applied, and with success, and the King is easier.

All this is very disheartening. The weather at Weymouth was deplorably bad, which seemed to be a matter of great satisfaction, as it necessarily would prevent his Majesty from going out after the application of the leeches.

Do you know that the Duke of Richmond has a cataract formed on one eye, and one nearly formed on the other, and that he is to be couched immediately ?

Disbrowe dined with us yesterday, on his way from Roehampton to Windsor, and has left his three girls here till to-morrow.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

(Confidential.)

Eden Farm, September 24th, 1805.

My dear Beresford,—The influence of old connections with the *corps diplomatique* put it generally in my power to know what is going forwards respecting the affairs of the Continent.

We have actually made arrangement of subsidy with Russia, and through her with Austria, and the remittances (about two millions and a half) are passing through the *house of Thornton*; and a subsidy treaty is concluding with Sweden. Three large armies—one in Italy, under the Archduke Charles ; one central (Russians and Germans), under the Emperor Francis ; one to the north (Pomerania), Swedes and Russians—and in due time a British corps of auxiliaries ; and what is very curious, but should not be mentioned, the Russians positively object to the Duke of York being the commander, and Lord Moira is thought of.

The winter and other circumstances may suspend all this explosion; but I think it will be forward enough, by the help of a good harvest and safe convoys, to give a favourable opening to Parliament. After the first impression, however, shall be over, the embarrassment will be very great, unless strength can be gained.

I believe that Mr. Long goes to-day.* I am surprised at it. He was particularly useful here, and is not particularly suited to the scenes which he will find in Ireland; and Mrs. Long still less.

I write this gallopingly, because William, who is going with his Volunteers to a great review at Wimbledon, carries it, and hurries me.

All well here.

Yours, ever most sincerely,
AUCKLAND.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, October 1st.

My dear Brother,—I have ever looked upon Bonaparte as a madman, and unhappily for mankind he has been a fortunate one. Your letter of yesterday confirms me in my opinion of him, and in that of my old friends † being forced into the measures they are now pursuing, and which, committed as they are with Russia, must lead to hostilities; indeed it is probable that they have already commenced, unless delayed or prevented by Prussia, whom I still look upon as devoted to France, and ready to receive Hanover as the price‡ of its further infamy. The seat of war must, I should think, notwithstanding a Swedish subsidy, be confined to Italy, unless the Swiss can rise upon their tyrants and liberate their country. We have

* To Ireland, as Chief Secretary.

† The Austrians.

‡ After the battle of Austerlitz, Bonaparte gave Hanover to Prussia.

much to do, and the difficulties are very great; but I rejoice that the object of the war is defined, and though I no more now, than I did during the last war, expect anything from the Interior of France, yet I hope that means will be found to have the Declaration of the Allies circulated through that country. I am not surprised that our Ministers should be elated. At least, this is a chance in their favour, and will, of course, be attributed to the *benignum numen* of the Premier.

The King, I understand, is to arrive at Kew on Friday, and with the Queen and the Royal family is to dine at Frogmore on Monday. I was at Windsor on Thursday, and it appeared to me to be impossible that the Castle should be made ready for their reception for many weeks; but I was told yesterday that they will take up their residence there on the 11th inst. The Duke of Kent, I am told, says that the King has positively lost the sight of one eye, and that he sees but ill of the other; and that, though low at times, his health is good.

General Wellesley learnt at St. Helena the recall of his brother, on whom it will be a severe blow, as he had just intimated his desire to be continued two years longer in his government. Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt are struggling hard for him.

Is it true that Lord Hardwicke has given his son, Lord Royston*, the reversion of Lord Buckinghamshire's place in Ireland? It must be deemed highly unbecoming.

Adieu! Ever your obedient and affectionate brother,
HENLEY.

P.S.—I hope that by the next German mail we shall hear of the Princess Royal's removal from Stuttgart, out of the reach of that arch fiend Bonaparte.

* Drowned in the Baltic in 1808.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.*

Eden Farm, October 20th, 1805.

My dear Beresford, — The war begins inauspiciously on the part of the Austrians, who managed miserably in forcing the explosion before they were ready to preoccupy the banks of the Rhine, and the strong posts of Switzerland; and now they are hunted by Bonaparte from pillar to post, and obliged to act on a perilous and discouraging detention till the Russians can come forward. I believe that they are somewhat in a better condition in Italy; still, it is impossible to feel sanguine. But our ministers are at this moment full of the most confident hopes that the King of Prussia is coming forward; and it is true that Bonaparte has had the insane insolence to give every possible provocation†. Still it is the first and essential principle of Prussian politics not to contribute to the aggrandizement of Austria; and you may rely on it, that no efficient or permanent aid will be given by Prussia. The Swedes and Russians are hearty enough in the cause.

As to home politics, I do not believe that there is yet any prospect or probability of breaking the great cohort of opposition; but there still are some months for the chapter of accidents.

The good King is well in body and in mind, but occasionally "very low in spirits" on the subject of his eyesight. One eye is supposed to be irrecoverably gone; and the other is very imperfect.

I have not yet heard of a new viceroy; and Lord Hardwicke is impatient to come away.

Lord Sidmouth's health is still precarious, but

* This is the last letter to Mr. Beresford, who died on November the 5th. The Beresford Correspondence, printed for private circulation, and edited with great ability by the Right Hon. William Beresford, contains many proofs of the attachment that existed between Lord Auckland and Mr. Beresford. The use of it was kindly granted to the Editor for the purpose of the present work.

† By violating the neutrality of the Prussian territory of Anspach.

somewhat better; and his son is in some degree recovered.

All are well under this roof, and desire to be most kindly remembered to you.

Believe me, my dear Beresford, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Castle Howard, October 26th, 1805.

My dear Lord,—Having nothing better to send from this place than my thanks for your obliging recollection of me, I have delayed giving you the interruption of an answer.

Of the political world I am very ignorant. I never entertained much hope that a proposal for additional strength would be pressed in a manner likely to attain the end professed to be so desirable; nor was I surprised to hear that the chief person did not make the attempt himself, but left the ground to be tried by Lords Harrowby and Mulgrave; a mode that ensured defeat. The news of this day, if not softened by something better soon, will not render Pitt's condition at the opening of the session of Parliament a perfect bed of roses. With success, he may disregard the public opinion that constantly betrays diffidence in his cabinet; with the contrary, even though the disaster should not be very consequential, his contempt of that public opinion will become less endurable, and his difficulties will increase upon him. Only considering Lord Sidmouth in a political view, I own I was little prepared to suffer one stream of my compassion to flow towards him. But, under the pressure of this sad domestic calamity, my heart bleeds for him.

I hear Lord Harrowby sets out immediately for Berlin. I hope the consequence of the congress of emperors will not, in their decisions, take our money, patch up a peace, which Bonaparte will break through

in six months, and come with an augmented naval force added to his military.

Will they send Lord Harrington to Ireland? They had better declare Foster viceroy for life, than make use of all this fudge. I cannot comprehend Long's acceptance*.

Believe me to be, my dear Lord, ever yours most sincerely,

CARLISLE.

P.S. As, probably, I shall linger on here for months to come, having much occupation at this place, and little in London, any information from you of the distant busy world will be gratefully received.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, October 29th.

I rather envy my Lady the visit to Eden Farm, which I just now learn impends. Her detention, and the little prospect there is of her being released before her full time, rather ruffles the sweetness of my disposition.

What say you to the present state of things? Can anything be more frightful? I have been scouted for my prophetic apprehensions of the very mischief which is so rapidly taking place; and for saying Bonaparte was by far too much for the statesmen as well as for the generals of Europe. Bonaparte has dashed *in medias res* in a style even beyond my expectation; but when I saw his excellently combined operations, and that none of his columns were checked by the stupid Austrians, I can only expect from the latter a repetition of the miserable conduct at Marengo. The wretched catastrophe may probably suppress whatever disposition there was to assist the common cause on the part of Prussia.

* Of the Irish Secretaryship.

Unless something extraordinary happens, I shall consider the game as up. In the meantime I shall like to hear something of the family at Eden Farm.

At this season I have no correspondent in London. I can only wonder at the suspended state of Irish affairs. I regret Lord Cathcart's departure from Ireland; but he is surely a very fit man for a diplomataire situation with the Russians. I believe Lord Harrowby is as able as any of his Majesty's ministers; but has he health for great exertions of mind and body? The battery is in high preservation. I have two nice ways to assist me in the care of them.

Ever, sincerely yours,
SHEFFIELD.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Cooper's Hill, November 1st.

My dear Brother, — Our good King continues, mind and body, the sight excepted, better than I have seen him for years. I forgot to tell you that he plays at Commerce without any further assistance than he derives from his spectacles. He was last night in good spirits that he had nearly got rid of his cold without its having affected his eyes, and was cheerful — in short, was himself. He talked much of Mack*, of whom he thinks as I do. This morning I met him in the park at ten o'clock, and rode with him till a quarter past one. He was cheerful, and we had more than one of his hearty laughs, which I have not heard before for some time. He talked, indeed, to me in an affecting manner, of his situation — saying that he had tried this morning, but in vain, to read the

* Mack capitulated at Ulm, October 17th. He seems to have totally failed as Commander-in-Chief, to which office he had been appointed at the solicitation of the English and Russian governments. "La conduite de Mack sera jugée avec d'autant moins de sévérité que les secrets de la diplomatie contemporaine seront plus connus." — *Biographie Universelle*, tome 72, p. 250.

docket of one of the despatches — but is convinced that he perceives an amendment, and that even with the left eye he can perceive the light. Lady Henley says that he presented the muffins to the ladies last night in his old jocose and good-humoured manner. He told me of Lord Gwydir's request that his son should execute the office*, and expressing his surprise at this when it appeared to be settled that you were to do it. I explained it to him, and he said that he did not see any objection to Mr. Burrel's appointment, but was not aware that he must be knighted. On this occasion he said that he differed with the Chancellor, who thinks that the impeachment may be gone through with in five days, and seemed to think that it will be better carried on in the House of Lords if the Commons will agree that the managers should form a Committee of the House. I thought that it might not be unserviceable to Charles Moore to tell him the anecdote you lately mentioned.

The Lady Amelia coughs, but is better.

Adieu, ever yours,
H.

P.S. There is a great promotion of generals, which will remove two aide-de-camps, one of which will probably be given to Colonel Taylor.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Cooper's Hill, November 8th.

My dear Brother,—The King said last night on his return from town, that the Court of Berlin had written to that of Vienna to avoid an action, and promising assistance; that the Duke of Brunswick had promised the French general to quit Hameln, and that the Emperor of Russia was to be at Potsdam on the 25th instant.

* Of Lord Chamberlain.

† Now Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

(Secret and Confidential.)

The King has given to the Prince of Wales £26,000, to the Duke of Kent £10,000, to the Duke of Cumberland £15,000, from the money that came to him from the prizes made before the declaration of war.

The Royal Family will, I believe, remain at Windsor throughout the winter. The King is very well.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, Sunday, November 10th.

My dear Lord,—As I have been out in both my tittle-tattle stories I shall leave off meddling with such edged tools, and resign them to Mrs. Candour and the *Morning Post*. I returned yesterday from Richmond Park Lodge. I found Lord Sidmouth, not looking worse, and cheerful; but, at times, in considerable pain. Dr. Fraser does not speak with much encouragement of the nature of his disorder. Mr. Addington grows weaker and debilitated in his body; but Sir L. Pepys says confidently that he shall restore his health. Lady Liverpool, whom you saw yesterday, will tell you, more accurately than I can, the state of her Lord. He seems to be grown weaker in his hands; but his voice, spirits, understanding, perfect as ever.

I saw a very long letter from Captain Blackwood, dated as late as the 26th, two days later than the public letter, in which he adds, “the gale *still* continues, and I fear we shall lose all our prizes* except three; and am in great apprehensions, *even* about our own disabled vessels. The enemy fought well! Admiral Villeneuve is at my elbow, on board of the ‘Euryalus’ (whilst I am writing this), and is all amazement, and cannot comprehend how it has happened.”

* Taken at the battle of Trafalgar.

Pray give my kindest respects to Lady Auckland and your household.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,
J. HATSELL.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Addiscombe Place, Friday morning,
10 o'clock A.M.

My dear Lord,—The four mails which were due from the Continent arrived yesterday. I have a letter from my son*, but he tells me nothing more than a son in such a situation should do to his father;—he says, however, that the Emperor is determined to be firm. In a letter to his sister he tells her, that the ladies at Vienna are in the greatest alarm, and that they employ themselves in packing up their furniture, and in going to mass. Sir Arthur Paget is better, just well enough to give Cecil a great deal of trouble. Cecil's letters are dated the 24th of October, just after they had heard at Vienna of the disaster that had happened to Mack. But by a letter I have this instant received from town, Mr. Lock tells me that he had seen Lord Hawkesbury, who bid him tell me, that the news from the Continent was very good, and that he would write to me the particulars this morning,—but I have not yet received this letter. He says that in my son's public despatches, dated also the 24th ult. it appeared that they had heard of the surrender of Ulm; that Mack was to be tried by a court-martial† as soon as he arrived at Vienna; that the Russians under Kutosow had fallen back to a position between Passau and Lintz (I suppose Wels); that they were to be joined on the 29th ult. by Michelson's corps, which would make the Russian army

* Who was Attaché to the embassy at Vienna.

† Mack was condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life; and he was afterwards released. He died in 1828. There were reports of his being bribed, but in the "Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat," it is stated that he lived and died poor.

114,000 men; that this Russian army was in the highest vigour; that the Hungarians are coming forward with the greatest zeal; and it was hoped that an army composed of Hungarians and other Austrian subjects would soon be collected to the amount of 100,000 men.

The Archduke Ferdinand has made his retreat with 6000 men, and has arrived with them at Vienna. The Emperor of Germany, on hearing the news of Mack's disaster, had sent one of his brothers to the Emperor of Russia and another to the King of Prussia with the letters, assuring them, that notwithstanding the misfortunes he had experienced, he was determined to persevere, and that even the loss of his capital would not induce him to change his resolution. The King of Prussia's conduct continues to be satisfactory. Lord Harrowby* arrived at Hamburg on the 8th, but would not get to Berlin till the 13th. The Emperor of Russia was to leave Berlin on the 5th, and to go to Weimar. They had heard nothing of the Archduke Charles.

I have thus told you all I have learnt, and am, with best compliments to Lord Buckinghamshire, my dear Lord,

Yours sincerely,
LIVERPOOL.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Letters from the Continent have been communicated to me, which say Lord Harrowby's manners have made the most pleasing impression at Berlin, and have much contributed to his success. There is a pretty answer of his reported to have been made to Mollendorff, who was observing to Lord H. — "Qu'il étoit un viellard, infirme et flétri par l'âge." "Les lauriers ne flétrissent jamais, mon général," replied Lord H.

* On a mission to Berlin.

It will be a great satisfaction to Lady Auckland to hear that Madame de Staël is expected here in the spring. She is coming with her sons, who are to go to the University at Edinburgh. We expect Lord Glenbervie—his lady is now here, and also the Dean of Battle and his lady, and two Miss Ways. My own dear lady and Brattery are in high preservation. The Princess* came here in four hours and ten minutes from Blackheath, which does not prove that the roads are very bad. She walked out in the mud, I suppose to prove that nothing could deter a Brunswick. We had the misfortune of losing her last Sunday, and we are as well as can be expected.

Ever most truly yours,
S.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, November 30th.

My dear Lord Auckland,—The continental news is indeed dreadful; and, if such disasters could have been averted by any exertions within the reach of our Government, Ministers will have to the full as much to answer for as they have shoulders to bear. You will have heard that Lord Harrington is going to the Emperor of Austria, merely, I suppose, for the purpose of condolence, and, as I strongly suspect, that he will not feel much disposed, under present circumstances, to regulate his conduct by our advice.

Ministers still talk of sending troops to the Continent; and it is now understood that *Lord Cathcart* is to command them. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who left this place this morning, has recently been nominated to the staff, and was to go, as he says, next week. "Game," indeed!

Yours affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

* Of Wales.

Lord Malmesbury to Lord Auckland.

Spring Gardens, December 13th, 1805.

Dear Lord Auckland,—We shall be very happy to receive you and Lady Auckland, and as many of your family, male and female, as you can and will bring with you on either or on both the days you mention, particularly as it is not *to tell* as your promised visit to Park Place.

I do not feel quite so dissatisfied with the management* of continental affairs—so despondent as to their ultimate result as you do; but, as my infirmities necessarily reduce me to the situation of a passive spectator, I am perhaps less disposed to find fault than I should be if I was able and willing to take an active part, and not called upon to do it.

Believe me, my dear Lord Auckland, ever most sincerely yours,

MALMESBURY.

P.S. Kind remembrances to all at Eden Farm. Remember, the more you bring the better.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Tuesday, 4 o'clock.

A messenger is arrived from Olmutz with the account of an action having taken place on the 2nd inst., at *Wischau*, between the Allies and the French. The former at first suffered in the centre, but their right wing having made a strong impression on the left of the French, the fate of the day is represented to have been in our favour,† and indeed we remained masters of the field on the 3rd; but still the Government account says that the Emperor of Russia was with difficulty prevailed upon to quit the field of

* Lord Malmesbury was a confidential adviser of Mr. Pitt, and with respect to this campaign, a most unlucky one.

† The first accounts from the field of Austerlitz were that a victory had been gained by the Allies.

battle — that Olmutz was in a state of siege, and, as I am told, that Paget was preparing to leave it. The loss of the French is stated as very great.

The King of Prussia's camp equipage, it is asserted, has left Berlin, and is arrived in Saxony.

Excuse this scrawl, which perhaps contains nothing that you will not have in the "Sun."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

(Very confidential.)

Roehampton, December 17th, 1805.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I hear, from very good authority, that Lord Melville has applied to Schaw, the solicitor employed by Hastings on his impeachment, to undertake his business, and that he has required, as a preliminary, security for ten thousand pounds to meet the expenses. It is added, that this could not be furnished by Lord Melville, and it is *conjectured* that on that account Lord Melville will not avail himself of professional aid in his defence. You will make your own comment upon this, but I suspect a good deal of manœuvre at the bottom of it.

Affectionately yours,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Wednesday, December 18th.

I fear that more cannot be said of the battle of Wischau than I remember Lord Rodney's saying at poor Sneyd's table on the day of the arrival of the news of Keppel's memorable engagement* — "We are not beaten." It appears, I understand, that the counsels of the Allies had been betrayed; and that, instead of surprising the French, they were overpowered, and their centre consequently *defeated* — that is the word used by Paget. When this letter came away Haugwitz was still at Vienna.

* In 1778.

So far from Lord Nelson having revoked any of the bequests in his will, which was left in England, he has, in the codicil signed two days before his death, left the fee-simple of Merton, and all its appurtenances, to Lady Hamilton, 5000*l.* to her niece, some legacies to his own nephews and nieces, and appointed his brother and sister residuary legatees, without having in this instrument made any mention whatsoever of Lady Nelson. The family expects that his property, including his eighth for the ships destroyed at Trafalgar and the head-money (computed together at 250,000*l.*), will amount to nearly 100,000*l.* It is said that 20,000 of the enemy perished in that battle and in the subsequent storm.

Lord Fitzwilliam's son, Lord Milton, is going to be married to one of the daughters of Lord Dundas.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, January 1st, 1806.

I have delayed a missive for some time, waiting for information, and exceedingly puzzled. I have been scouted because I was not quite sure that everything was going on most prosperously and triumphantly. At one time I was almost tempted to think matters were in good train, but doubts and apprehensions did not long leave me in a state of scepticism. I learned from Lady Glenbervie that you have never wavered for a moment, nor had any confidence in the opinions or reports which were so confidently scattered abroad—but you are the only person, of whom I have heard, that was not in some degree imposed on. I was balancing when I heard that you (always better informed than others) were not a believer, and forthwith I had no hopes. I have all along considered the continental effort as brought forward without foresight or due combination, and it gratified me to find your notions on the subject were exactly the same; but, although I was full of apprehension, and void of all confidence in the actors, yet this last affair

has surpassed my expectations. That our fate may within twelve months be as deplorable as that of the Austrians, may as reasonably be expected as anything that has happened within two months. I have already said that I cannot discover any better talents in our ministers and generals for conducting war and foreign affairs than in those of the wretched Austrians, and I am sure that, in respect to land defence, we are infinitely beneath that debased nation. Our situation is desperate. There is nothing to look to. I am not disposed to grace the chariot wheels of the ministers on the first day of the session; but whenever I understand any essential business is coming on, I shall attend in my place. If there were a prospect of anything but ruin from supporting the ministers longer, it would be highly culpable not to do it at this moment most strenuously; but, after twelve years' trial and experience, how utterly unfit they are for war and foreign affairs, and for the present state of things, it would not only be infinitely more culpable, but the height of weakness and folly to depend longer on them. You will discover that I am up to vigorous measures, but I shall inflict no more on you at this time.

My annual offering to your very charming Louisa would have been more considerable if there had not been abundance of people in the house. Lord Chichester carried the pheasant to London from hence at the time the larder was most exhausted. I admire your visit, in the true patriarchal style, to Blenheim, &c. No family can be better adapted to such a project.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

January 12th, 1806.

Many people still refuse to give credit to the disastrous news from the Continent, and are sanguinely looking forward to the great successes to be operated by the 90,000 men, under the command of the Arch-Duke Charles (at the gates of Vienna), and by the

junction of the Russians to the Prussian army. All this foolish reasoning is not confined to the gossiping circles, but I have heard it urged by otherwise sensible men, who have been in distinguished places in the Government. This folly increases the bile, occasioned by the successes of the Corsican; and it is surprising to me that Government does not put an end to it, by the publication of a short official statement of what has passed; as I believe has heretofore uniformly been practised.

Sir W. Farquhar is gone again to Bath, to see Mr. Pitt, with whom, it is stated, in letters from thence, the waters of that place by no means agree; and it is supposed that he will not be able to attend the meeting of Parliament. I heard some of his inveterate enemies, last night, lamenting his ill state of health, lest he should die without atoning for all the mischief he has done to the country—and if he lives, the day of account, they seemed to think, not to be far distant.

(Confidential.)

Since writing the above, I have rode in the Park with Lord Glastonbury. Just as I joined him, he had quitted the Duke of York, who told him that there were no further accounts from the Continent, and from whose conversation he had collected, that he did not think the slain among the Allies amounted to a considerable number, and that still their forces, though scattered, were numerous. Lord Glastonbury seemed to apprehend that the cry for peace through the country will be great; and on my asking him how his relation, should he come into office with Mr. Fox, will agree with him as to the terms of peace, he said, "No more than on the method of carrying on the war, unless his opinion is changed; since, he had very recently again declared, that it could only be done with any prospect of success by subsidising a large foreign force." Warren is destined for the West Indies.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

C. Garden, January 7th.

My dear Lord,—There was a consultation on Mr. Pitt. Sir Walter Farquhar Reynolds and Bayley — and Dr. Vaughan* told me they thought he had no other malady than the gout and its consequent weakness. It is generally supposed he will not be able to attend on Tuesday, † nor for a considerable time to come. I know nothing of his Majesty's motions, nor any news.

Best compliments to Lady Auckland and the ladies.

I am, yours faithfully,

J. H.

Sir Walter Farquhar to Lord Auckland.

Putney Heath, Monday, near 3.

My dear Lord,—I beg your pardon for not writing. I never have had any pleasant tidings to communicate about Mr. Pitt. He has been, and is still, very ill. The symptoms unpleasant, and the situation very hazardous: still I won't despair. I received your note.

I have not been in town. I cannot bring myself to leave Putney Heath to-day: the circumstances are so critical that not an hour must be lost.

Lady Auckland and you must remember the state of your daughter ‡—how near gone; and now a most beautiful being. Perseverance did it. We may have good luck again: you shall hear to-morrow.

Yours most sincerely,

W. FARQUHAR.

Parliament was to meet on Tuesday the 21st, and an amendment to the address, strongly censuring

* Afterwards Sir Henry Halford.

† Parliament met on Tuesday the 21st.

‡ Louisa, born in Spain, in 1788.

Government, was to be moved by Lord Cowper in the Lords, and by Lord Henry Petty in the Commons, which, if carried, would have been fatal to the Administration.

Lord Auckland, on receiving Sir Walter's letter, communicated it to Lord Grenville, in order to prevent any hostile proceedings during the dangerous illness of the Premier.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Camelford House, Tuesday.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for your note of last night, and I am glad to be able to tell you that the business of to-day will probably go off in the manner we had talked of.

Unless there should be reason, in the course of this day, to believe that immediate danger is out of the question, the movers of the amendment you saw will content themselves with reading it, and saying, that as there are personal considerations which would render the discussion on this day painful to their own feelings, they will not propose it to-day, but will on Monday bring forward the discussion of the same sentiments.

Ever yours, &c.

GRENVILLE.

P.S.—If you have heard anything more, pray let me know it.

Sir Walter Farquhar to Lord Auckland.

Putney Heath, near 10, Tuesday.

My dear Lord,—I am sorry to inform you of the confirmation of all my unpleasant feelings about Mr. Pitt. The constitution is gone. It won't rally. We must submit. I don't see a ray of hope, still the battle must be fought. I want Miss Louisa's youth, &c. &c. to storm forts. The battle of Austerlitz and its consequences are not cordials.

I hope to see you soon, but I have not left this house for the last three days. Best wishes to all.

Yours most devotedly,
W. FARQUHAR.

Mr. William Eden to Lord Auckland.

Tuesday Night, 12.30.

My dear Father,—This melancholy letter arrived after you had gone to bed. Seeing Sir Walter's hand I ventured to open it, and sealed it up again, not thinking it necessary to have you disturbed.

Yours,
W. EDEN.

Lord Glenbervie to Lord Auckland.

5.30* P.M.

The last accounts from Putney are of about two o'clock. Pitt was just alive, though all the town believed, for an hour or two, that he was dead, owing to Farquhar having told his son "*all is over*," and he having on that gone to some of the ministers to say he was dead; and it is said Lord Castlereagh sent that account to the King, and a quarter of an hour afterwards sent a messenger to overtake his first. The physicians all declare him gone—but he may live till seven to-night. He has been quite collected, and his voice not altered. He dictated a short will to the Bishop of Lincoln this morning, and was held up till he signed it.

The common rumour is that Addington is to be the new Minister *nil adm.*

I have obeyed your commands to the best of my power.

Ever yours,
GLENBERVIE.

* Wednesday.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, January 23rd, 1806.

My dear Lord Auckland,—The reports in London yesterday respecting poor Mr. Pitt were so numerous and contradictory that I send a servant over to you with the melancholy intelligence that he died this morning at four o'clock. I was there (at Putney) about five yesterday evening, when I saw the Bishop and Sir Walter. The scene was too distressing to admit of my remaining many minutes; but they then appeared to entertain no hope.

Affectionately yours,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Hertford Street, January 23rd.

Ere this can reach you, you will, doubtless, have heard that Mr. Pitt breathed his last this morning at half-past four. He was at times delirious; but, upon the whole, did not, as I am told, in his last moments suffer much. It was not, strange as it may appear, till yesterday, that he was apprised of his situation. He bore the communication with fortitude; and it was then also that the King was first informed of it. The effect on his mind, and the embarrassments into which this event must plunge him, I greatly fear. What will be done? This was matter of discussion between Lord Glastonbury and me this morning during our ride. He was much affected, and deeply deplored the event; as does, he said, his relation Lord Grenville. He seemed to think that the King will send for Lord Grenville. I rather think that he will, in the first instance, send for Lord Sidmouth or Lord Spencer. At all events the present men cannot go on; for, amongst other embarrassments, I am told that Woronzow, who pretends that he guides the counsels

of his court, says, with a truly Russian insolence, that he will not treat with them ; and this, after what is held up in the speech, would be perplexing. On the whole, it is perhaps to be wished that the King could at once make up his mind to what probably will at last become necessary ; as an unstable administration would only increase the difficulties of the country.

CHAP. XLVII.

Resignation of Ministers. — Lord Grenville forms an Administration.
— Lord Auckland appointed President of the Board of Trade. —
Mr. Windham and the Volunteers. — Lords Auckland and Holland
appointed to negotiate with the American Commissioners.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Sunday Night.

AT a meeting of the ministers at the Duke of Portland's, on Friday night, it was determined by them that their places were no longer tenable, and the same was immediately signified to the King, who yesterday gave orders that Lord Grenville should wait upon him to-morrow at the Queen's house. The Duke of York, it is thought, will retain the command of the troops, and Lord Hawkesbury has the Cinque Ports. Lascelles' motion already operates on the party; the Grenvilles are for it, and the Foxites against it—they call it an inauspicious beginning.

Lord Carlisle will be mortified, for this day, at three o'clock, he did not know of the message sent to Lord Grenville.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Camelford House, January 27th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I have only a moment to acknowledge your kind letter. I am certainly very desirous of availing myself of the assistance and friendship you offer me in so obliging a manner, and I shall be anxious to converse with you as soon as the hurry of

these days is over. I am ordered to lay before the King a plan of a Government, his Majesty putting no exclusion on anybody, but reserving to himself to judge of the whole. What all this will end in is, perhaps, still very doubtful, but we must do our best.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

Grosvenor Place, January 28th, 4 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I have strong reason to believe that nothing has yet transpired, or, I should rather say, nothing is yet settled respecting the new Government; and, as I understand upon good authority, that until Lord Grenville left the King yesterday, he (Lord Grenville) had never had a conversation with Mr. Fox upon the subject of arrangements, you must not be surprised that no definitive plan is yet determined upon. No communication has been made to Lord Sidmouth, but my own opinion is that a proposition will be sent to him.

A difficulty has, I hear, occurred respecting the situation of First Lord of the Treasury, it being considered incompatible with the office of Auditor, and consequently not tenable by Lord Grenville.

Windham has all the merit of having brought his friends last night into a division of eighty-nine against two hundred and fifty-eight.

Lord Castlereagh spoke admirably well*, with great firmness and dexterity, and evidently carried the feelings of the House along with him.

My drawing-room at Roehampton is so exceedingly hot, that I find the effect of it interrupts my sleep even in town.

Affectionately yours,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

* In favour of Mr. Lascelles' motion for a public funeral, and the erection of a statue to Mr. Pitt.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, January 28th, 1806.

Here I am. As I do not, nor ever did, speculate for office, I have no business in London at present.

Notwithstanding I never was one of those who thought Mr. Pitt infallible, but, on the contrary, always expressed an opinion that he was eminently deficient in respect to the conduct of the war and of foreign affairs, yet I regret very much the loss of such an extraordinary creature, as he surely was; and on his death I wished myself in the House of Commons, that I might propose the payment of his funeral expenses and his debts, which would mark the national opinion of his disinterestedness, but I fear too general commendation may provoke contradiction. I cannot help feeling as if there were a great void on his departure from this world, although I am not unaware that his death is a great accommodation to the public and to himself. If he had lived, he would have been liable to mortifications too great for his haughty spirit to bear, and the country would have sunk under parliamentary wraggles. The session would have been passed in criminations and recriminations, and in the meantime Bonaparte would not have been asleep. We may now get rid of a wretched dependence on volunteers, as well as of the Parish Bill system; and new and more vigorous measures may be adopted, which possibly, though not probably, may procure a tolerable peace.

I had flattered myself that the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports would be given to Lord Chatham.* The Jenkinson craving disposition will revolt the whole country. The inattention to the family of Pitt is strongly marked. It remains now to be seen what degree of prudence will be exhibited in forming the new administration, as well as in their proceedings.

* It was given to Lord Hawkesbury.

I am glad there is no patchwork of ministerialists and opposition, whatever there may be of old and new opposition.

I shudder when I think how completely we seem to have forgotten the state of Europe since the death of Mr. Pitt, and the consequent ministerial revolution. I wish to know your notions of the state of things; also certain anecdotes which you will hear, but I shall not, in the weald of Sussex. It would be wise to include Lord Chichester in the Cabinet, and one or two such. It would qualify the Administration in the opinion of country gentlemen and reflecting people.

Ever sincerely yours,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

(Confidential.)

London, January 29th, 4 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—Lord Sidmouth received a message from Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, desiring to see him this day at one o'clock. The result, however, of the interview renders it extremely doubtful whether any connection can be formed with them or not. They are to meet again this evening. When I can write more I will.

Affectionately yours,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

P.S. I open my note to say that an official account has been received of the death of Lord Cornwallis.

Lord Glenbervie to Lord Auckland.

Thursday.

My dear Lord Auckland,—William will tell you the news of the day.

Lord Grenville's meeting with the King is not to be final, it is said, till to-morrow. One story is that Fox has had an interview with Lord Sidmouth; another, that the two have invited Lord Sidmouth to a conference.

Grant is talked of for the Seals; Erskine to be a Peer and Chief Justice of Common Plea; Mansfield, Master of the Rolls. Grant denies this, and others say Erskine is to be Chancellor here, and Piggot in Ireland; G. Ponsonby to be Secretary for Ireland; Adam Attorney and Romilly, Solicitor-Generals.

One story says Sheridan insists on the Cabinet. What a crowd of pretensions and pretenders: *Angustum per iter luctantis ambitionis*.

Ever yours,

GLENBERVIE.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Thursday, January 30th.

I left St. James's Street at four o'clock, when it was supposed that the arrangement cannot be completed before to-morrow. Various reports were, of course, in circulation; but I will only mention one, and that because I know that it came from Mr. Tierney, viz. that Lord Sidmouth is to be of the new Administration. I acknowledge that it is contrary to my expectation, but I sincerely rejoice at it, inasmuch as it may affect our friend. Their Majesties and the Royal family are come to town, and will remain here till the 7th of February; the King, however, sleeping at Kew.

Lords Coventry and Somers are dead.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Thursday.

It was confidently asserted this evening, at Brooke's, that Lord Grenville did not see the King to-day. There was no party at the Queen's house. Why, I know not, except its being the 30th January.

Old Coventry is well, in London, instead of being dead in Worcestershire. I hope that the report of Lord Uxbridge's death is equally false. Never were more lies current than at this moment.

Good night.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, January 30th, 1806, 11 P.M.

My dear Lord, — We have brought our arrangements into a shape, which will admit of their being laid before the King to-morrow.

The Treasury is to be placed in my hands, with Lord H. Petty as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Spencer, Fox and Windham are to be the three Secretaries of State; Grey, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Sidmouth President and Privy Seal. The seals were offered to Sir James Mansfield and Lord Ellenborough; but both declined them, and Erskine will therefore be Chancellor.

I have taken the liberty to put down your name for the President of the Committee of Trade, which I hope will not be disagreeable to you, and which is a situation in which I am confident the public will derive essential advantage from your abilities and knowledge; and in which, from its necessary connection with the Treasury business, it was of extreme importance to me to have the assistance of a person with whom I hope to live in habits of mutual confidence. Lord Temple is desirous, if this arrangement takes place, of profiting by your instructions and knowledge of business, and acting in the House of Commons as Vice-President of the Committee.

Lord Minto will be at the Board of Control, if he does not object to that situation when he arrives.

Lord Buckinghamshire will have the Post Office, and Lord Ellenborough be called to the Cabinet, which (with his single exception) will consist exclusively of persons whose situations absolutely require their being called to it.

I do not expect the King to give me his answer to-morrow, but merely to take the paper for consideration; but, as the thing will probably be brought to its final issue in the course of a day or two more, I should be very glad to know that you approve

of this arrangement, and that you are coming to town. Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Grosvenor Place, Jan. 31st, 4 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—All things were in such a state of fluctuation and uncertainty during the whole of yesterday until very late at night, that I could have written nothing but loose conjectures by the post. The result of the discussion between Fox, Lord Grenville and Lord Sidmouth, at a late hour, has at length brought matters so near a close, that we may consider them settled, viz. that Lord Sidmouth is to have the Privy Seal, and of course in the Cabinet. The difficulty has turned upon my being there also as his friend, holding the Post Office. It was stated that, from numerous claimants for the Cabinet, a necessity had arisen to narrow the number as much as possible, and that it would be impracticable to admit me with the Post Office without others, whose nomination would be productive of infinite inconvenience: in short, it came at last for me to determine whether the connection should be formed or not. The *expedient* being offered, of nominating Lord Ellenborough to the Cabinet, as a friend of Lord Sidmouth; and I trust I have not decided wrong, in acquiescing in the Post Office, without the Cabinet. I might have been Master of the Horse, which, under present circumstances, I could not think of. The pressure of claimants for office, I hear, has been beyond anything ever heard of.

A reasonable proportion of Lord Sidmouth's friends are immediately to have appointments. I would not delay writing until the last hour, because, in case you are not aware of it, it is right you should know (though never from me), that you may be prepared how to act, that it is intended to propose the situation of President of the Board of Trade to you.

Had India been offered to me, no consideration should have induced me to go there. In great haste.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

P.S. I do not believe Lord Wellesley is excluded.

Lord Glenbervie to Lord Auckland.

(Most private and confidential.)

Feb. 1st, 1806.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I have taken your advice and written a letter to Lord Grenville, which I hope you will think is such as you would have approved. Lest you should see and find an opportunity of speaking of my case to Lord Grenville, I have sent this to tell you that my information hitherto is that Fox has certainly not disposed of the place,* and that he even recommended speaking to Lord Grenville about it, as it must be through him, if I were to keep it. Probably you will, therefore, not think it right to trust to Lord Grenville, that Fox has been spoken to; and I have to add, that I have learned this moment (nine p.m.), from William Elliot, that Lord Grenville has promised to do nothing in it till he sees Lord Minto, who is to be in town Monday or Tuesday morning.

Ever yours, affectionately,

GLENBERVIE.

P.S. If you should be able to see Lord Grenville to-morrow (Sunday) in town, and should have a minute to spare, you will find me all the morning at home.

Mr. Long to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Hill Street, Feb. 3rd.

My dear Lord, — I found a most kind and friendly letter from you on my arrival from Ireland. The grief I felt at the loss of our friend † you will more easily

* Lord Glenbervie was Surveyor-General of the Woods and Forests. This office was given to Lord Robert Spencer.

† Mr. Pitt.

conceive than I can describe — it was to me quite unexpected, for the last accounts I had received in Ireland were the most flattering. Our difficulties of a public nature are very great ; but I confess I think the King could not have done better than to send to Lord Grenville, in whom I have greater faith than in any other person for extricating us from these difficulties.

Report says there are obstacles to the new arrangement ; but none, I conceive, which will not be got over. Mr. Erskine as Chancellor, and Mr. Windham as War Secretary, are supposed not to have met with the entire approbation of his Majesty ; but my mind has dwelt so much upon the loss the public and myself peculiarly have sustained, as to leave me very little interest for these things. I beg my kind remembrance to Lady Auckland and your family, and that you will believe me, my dear Lord,

Ever yours most sincerely,

C. LONG.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Feb. 4th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I return your packet, and am obliged to you for the communication. Long's disposition I had already reason to hope was favourable. What can be done about Lord Charles Spencer* I do not yet see: it is a distressing point. The other opening cannot be made, I fear, among the multitude of pretensions for past service in the various corps of our army ; but time and opportunity will, I flatter myself, remove many of the difficulties that now almost overwhelm me.

Your conversation with Freeling will be useful. When the Treaty is set agoing, something must be

* Lord Charles Spencer had been removed from the Post Office, but Lord Grenville had appointed Lord Blandford to the Treasury, and this did not at all satisfy the Duke of Marlborough, who was not on good terms with Lord Blandford.

systematically done upon that point; but it is too soon yet to set about it.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

P.S. I shall be at the House; but certainly shall not be disposed to enter into the debate to-day.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

February 10th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I send you the first sketch of the general outlines of our finance. Have the goodness to return it to me when you have extracted from it what you wish. There is no hope that, for this year, our estimates can be much lower, at least, I fear not: the article of subsidies will, however, be saved. There is a clause for something more due on that head; but I have not yet ascertained how far we can fight it off.

I hear rather of grumbling, than of formed opposition. The point about Lord Ellenborough they can make nothing of; but to show their own ignorance of the nature and constitution of councils and cabinets.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

P.S. Have the goodness to thank Lord Gwydir for me.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

February 18th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I have no hesitation in expressing my decided opinion in favour of these applications.* I believe the ground of objection rested a good deal on the state of our discussions with America. You will have observed the stress which Jefferson lays on the supposed unreasonableness of our claim to deprive other nations of a trade which we carry on ourselves. But this is a sophism. We *have* a right to prevent that

* Licences to trade with the French colonies.

which is injurious to us, and may, if we think right to relax that right in cases where we think the advantage to ourselves compensates or overbalances the injury. A principle manifest in the case of a siege, where we exclude all the world from intercourse with the town besieged; but carry it on ourselves, whenever we think it beneficial to our own interests to do so.

As a *commercial* question the thing admits of no doubt; nor can I think that the question of *navigation* is to be attended to against so many other more important considerations.

The Treasury arrangements for Ireland are directed towards the principle you mention; but I should like to find (some day next week) a quarter of an hour to talk to you about the means of attaining it.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Canelford House, March 3rd, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I send you Lord Bristol's motion.* I think you are in possession of all I have found or heard of on the subject, and surely *that* is more than enough.

It turns out that Lord Mansfield was in the Cabinet during part of the late King's reign, as well as for the first five or six years of the present.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

P.S. The enclosed had got into your cover.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Canelford House, March 4th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—The letter which you returned me I had sent to you thinking it had come to me under

* Respecting Lord Ellenborough having a seat in the Cabinet.

your cover. I have not kept the attendance list of yesterday ; but I mean to get it again from Cowper. I calculate that they might have divided seven or eight—not more. You observed, I daresay, that Lord Chatham, Lord Bathurst, Camden, &c. &c. were not absent. The Duke of York came down and would have voted with us. The only *absent* Duke (princes) was Cambridge. I will try to come down to-day to the vote, but I rather doubt the possibility.

We must certainly consider, in Cabinet, the question you mention. My own impressions have always been favourable to all questions of extended intercourse between the West India Islands and the United States ; but just now this mixes itself with the political questions we are unhappily engaged in with the latter.

If you will let me see you next Friday at twelve, we will then talk over whatever business you have for me.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Mr. Windham to Lord Auckland.

March 11th.

My dear Lord,—There is a minute sent to me from the Committee of Council, which, if I understand it rightly, seems to be of too much magnitude for me to act upon it, without some further authority. I mean the suspension of part of the provisions of the Navigation Act, for an indefinite term, and without the power of renewing it, except upon six months' notice.

Surely, though this may be very right, I must not take upon myself, however sanctioned by the opinion of the Committee of the Council, to give the King's name to a measure of such extent ; but must have for it a decision of Cabinet.

Yours, my dear Lord, with great truth,
WINDHAM.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Bath, Monday, March 31st.

My dear Lord,—I am perfectly satisfied with the substance of the Budget*, and much pleased with the arrangement and manner of delivery.

I never saw the country more beautiful, nor in higher order, or more alive, in improvements of every sort, than as I came along. If we can but have war and taxes ten years longer, we shall be the most flourishing nation that ever existed, and models of industry, ingenuity, and activity, to all our neighbours. The only danger that I foresee, is our being too rich. I see the poor Duchess† is gone! We hear that the Duke assured her he would discharge her debts.

Pray remember me kindly to Lady Auckland, and the ladies and your son. I hope Mr. Windham don't mean to dismiss him and the *volunteers*, as I have more confidence in *them*, on an invasion, than I have in the regulars, as they are called.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, April 5th, 1806.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I thank you for the two notes I received at Stilton, though, if I had entirely trusted to your accuracy, one of them would have surprised me, as you say Mr. Windham's plan was put off on account of Mr. Fox's *opposition*. By the way, upon a hasty reading of Mr. Windham's speech this morning, I find more *to swallow* than I expected: the indirect annihilation of the volunteers, the change of system in recruiting the army, and

* Brought forward on the 28th of March, by Lord Henry Petty.

† Of Devonshire.

abolition of ballot for the militia. I wish some of the best friends of Government may not have difficulties, not yet anticipated; but the Easter recess affords time for reflection, and also for cabal; and I think the result of both must occasion many alterations from the system proposed on Thursday in the House of Commons.

Yours, affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

P.S. It would save the threepences if the letters from Eden Farm were all directed to me.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, April 8th, 11 P.M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I was in London yesterday, but was not able to learn any news beyond what you will read in the papers. I was told, however, that we are not to judge of the military plan of Government by Mr. Windham's speech*: it neither being intended to get rid of the volunteers or of the militia; and that much of the difficulty likely to be created by his wanderings would be obviated in the course of the discussion in Parliament; but the danger, as you very justly observed, is not there. The minds of the military will be set afloat; and it is an even chance whether they take a right or a wrong direction.

I am told Mr. Windham had the gratification of being obliged to drink "the Duke of Clarence and the Volunteers:" a toast given by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House dinner.

I have completed the sale of my field to Mr. Goldsmid. A public footpath going through it; no trees to be cut or lopped; no building of any sort erected on pain of forfeiture of lease and purchase money. The price, £6 per acre; nineteen years purchase.

* In this speech Mr. Windham expressed great doubts as to the efficacy of volunteers in case of an invasion.

The lease, fifty-seven years to run : all very well between a Christian and a Jew.

The King, I hear, is very well, and I should suppose much gratified by the promptitude and energy with which the outrageous conduct of the King of Prussia has been visited. Lord Castlereagh's "bed of roses" was not well timed. He is now even with his *friend Canning* for the "two strings."

I saw Lord Melville yesterday on horseback in the King's Road. He appeared to me much broken.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, May 19th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I am as little disposed in this case as in any other to give into Lord Hawkesbury's doctrine, that commerce is to be sacrificed to navigation—the principal to the accessory.

I can see no objection to granting to any of our merchants licences to trade to St. Domingo; indeed, I a little doubted whether this would not be best done by an order in Council, declaring the trade free to those parts of that island which are not in the possession of the King's enemies.

There is a consideration which Wickham would explain to you whenever he sees you, and which makes us think that we must have an Act of Parliament to legalise all voyages made under such licences. I had desired him to converse with the King's advocate upon it. If he should be at the Treasury to-day, when Sir John Nicholl is with you, you had best send to him.

You will oblige me much by sending me notices of all unanswered business at the Treasury, as I have determined to make that office as remarkable for punctuality as it has hitherto been for the contrary.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

The Bishop of London to Lord Auckland.*

Fulham, May 29th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—When I saw you yesterday in the House, I forgot to ask you whether you had heard a curious report (which has, I find, spread very wide, and even got into the *Cabinet*), that about a fortnight ago I preached a sermon at Curzon Chapel, on the subject of *Lord Melville's impeachment*. I think you who know me will give me credit for not being so totally void of common decency and common sense, as to make even the *slightest allusion* in the pulpit to so important a trial, which is still undecided, and in which I may possibly be one of the judges. But those who do not know me may take up (as usual) with the *rumour of the day*, however preposterous and absurd, and which, in this case, I believe, took its rise from ladies maids, who told it to their mistresses, and they to their friends, and they to all the world. But in you and Lady Auckland, and all your family, I think I have a host of friends to oppose all this nonsense, and to give it, as I beg you will, a direct and flat contradiction. The real truth is, that I thought no more of Lord Melville in the sermon than I did of you. It was upon the *general subject of censuring our neighbours rashly and uncharitably*. It was written twenty-four years ago, had been preached twenty times before, and was selected from several others, for no other reason than that I had never preached it at Curzon Chapel.

I am, my dear Lord,
Very sincerely and faithfully yours,
B. LONDON.

* Dr. Porteus.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Rochampton, July 2nd, 1806.

My dear Lord Auckland,—You will have been surprised to hear that Lord Minto is going to India.

He has just left us, and I think appears rather more lone and lank than usual.

Lady Auckland will be more convinced than ever that men will go anywhere for office. By-the-bye, the appointment of Mr. Grenville* to the Board of Control, *with a seat in the Cabinet*, has obliged me to remonstrate respecting myself. The limitation of the number of the Cabinet, and especially the exclusion of the President of the Board of Control, was assigned as the ground of not admitting me.

I know your sentiments upon the subject, and suppose I am mistaken, because I do not concur in them—but the fact is, that I consider myself ill-treated—and have said so. I hear nothing of Mr. Fox—but fear he is very ill.

Affectionately, yours,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Aug. 8th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—The two American Commissioners, Monroe† and Pinckney‡, are very pressing that their negotiation should be entered upon; and, indeed, I do not think it at all desirable that the thing should be any longer delayed. It is, however, quite impossible that Mr. Fox should just now enter into these discussions, nor is it more possible that they should be carried on by any of our colleagues, who are all quite new to the business, or by myself, who, God knows, have more than enough upon my shoulders already.

* Mr. Thomas Grenville.

† Of Virginia.

‡ Of South Carolina.

I, therefore, suggested on Wednesday to the King the idea, which he approved of, authorising two persons, by special commission, to treat on this business; and I have proposed to Lord Holland to undertake it with you, which he is ready to do, if you have no objection. I need not dwell on the motives of the choice, which are obvious enough in both instances — but I earnestly hope you will not be unwilling to undertake this service, in which you may, on every account, be more useful than any other person could.

If you will only authorise me to direct that your acceptance should be signified to these two commissioners, the preparation of the commission, and instructions, may then take a little time; before the expiration of which I may hope to be able to converse with you on the whole subject.

I am, most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Eden Farm, August 8th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—My answer to your proposition is obvious and direct. Wishing to render to the King's Government every service in my power, I am ready to receive His Majesty's commands, to undertake (within this Island,) any duty of which I may be thought capable. And when the difficult service in question is to be by commissioners, I am happy to be associated with Lord Holland, whose ability I know and respect, and whose temper and turn of mind are peculiarly agreeable to me.

So far, therefore, as I am concerned, this communication may be made to Messrs. Pinckney and Monroe, as immediately as may be thought expedient; and I will appropriate to their negotiation *

* This negotiation turned on three points. The American grievances were, the impressment of English seamen from their ships, the seizure of their ships and cargoes engaged in the indirect trade between the French and Spanish colonies and Europe, and the question respecting

every hour that can be spared without injury to more urgent business.

I am, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,
AUCKLAND.

Lord Holland to Lord Auckland.

Holland House, August 9th.

My dear Lord,—I am much gratified at your kind and friendly expression of partiality towards me, and need not assure you what an advantage the business must derive from your knowledge and experience on the subject. I expect to see Lord Grenville to-day. With regard to the latter point in your letter, Mr. Fox has been lately so languid and low that though other symptoms become more favourable every day, I have refrained from speaking of public affairs to him more studiously than ever. He does not, as yet, know of this commission, but in the course of the day I shall contrive to tell him of it. At present I am, myself, quite unacquainted with the extent of it. Do you know Monroe? He is a very pleasant man to deal with. His colleague I only know by sight.

Believe me, your obliged, &c.

HOLLAND.

P.S.—I will write to you when I have seen Lord G.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, Friday, August 10th.

My dear Lord,—Every account I hear agrees with your forebodings about Mr. Fox: though the physicians (Dr. Vaughan, I know, in particular) say, that there is more chance after a *second* tapping than a

the maritime jurisdiction on their coast. Owing to the conciliatory disposition of the negotiation, a treaty was signed on the 21st of December, which settled everything satisfactorily excepting the imprisonment question; but the treaty was not ratified by Mr. Jefferson, on the ground that the Commissioners had exceeded their instructions in signing a treaty which did not settle this point.—See *Lord Holland's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 98—102.

first. I don't see that you kissed hands on Wednesday. I beg to congratulate your son William on his new appointment; * as, let the negotiation terminate how it may, well or ill (of which *I* have little doubt but that it *must* be the latter), he must be the gainer, by the acquisition of much knowledge, and of habits of business.

The *handing* Mrs. Jordan up to the upper end of the Table,† reminds me of a scene, very similar to this, which I saw several years ago at *Compiegne*. I hope the consequences will not be the same, but it is more outrageous, in point of defiance of the public opinion, than anything that we have hitherto seen.

Remember us kindly to Lady Auckland and all your family.

I am, my dear Lord, yours, faithfully,

J. H.

* As secretary to the American negotiation.

† At a fête at Bushey Park.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The great Finance Plan. — The King objects to the Army and Navy Bill in favour of Roman Catholic Officers. — Discussion between the King and Lord Grenville. — The King requires a pledge from his Ministers that no measures in favour of Catholics shall be again introduced. — The Ministers refuse, and are dismissed. — The Duke of Portland succeeds. — Lord Auckland's Letter to the King. — Lord Auckland advises moderation. — Lord Liverpool's character of Lord Grenville. — Opposition proceedings. — Sydney Smith's Sermon. — The Copenhagen Expedition. — Lord Grenville at Home.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Dec. 2nd, 1806.

My dear Lord,—I always feel a strong disposition to think that when it is not clear what course to take, the best is to remain quiet, and this above all others in matters of trade and finance. The proposal of confiscating foreigners' property in our funds, I hold in abhorrence, and believe it to be quite as impolitic as it is unjust. Nor could I, without great reluctance, adopt any plan for enabling our merchants to refuse the acceptance of *bonâ fide* bills, — and certainly on this point we must be right in waiting for more information.

I entirely agree with you, that the West India Planters and Merchants must first state their case to the committee of trade, and have it there investigated, before it is brought into Parliament.

I reckon the new Parliament at from 480 to 500 friends, from 120 to 130 contrary, and the rest doubtful or absent.

I have now under consideration a project, which, if I could bring it to bear, would enable us to carry on many years of war without new taxes.—It is this:

Suppose our loan fifteen millions for this year (a high calculation), and our war taxes now productive at 20,000,000*l.* per annum. Then appropriate so much of the war taxes as will pay the interest and usual 1 per cent. on this Loan, and add to it from the same source, such an additional and separate sinking fund as will, with the help of the 1 per cent., pay off in — years, (say twelve or fourteen), a capital equal to that created by this loan. At the expiration of that period, both interest and sinking fund fall in, and are again applicable to a similar operation, if the war continues so long.

The same operation next year, and so on for the succeeding years, observing always, that the loan must progressively increase with the diminution of the disposable part of the war taxes.

I do not know whether this short sketch explains to you the outline of the plan. It is quite in embryo; but I am sure it well deserves consideration, if we could now say to the country, You are arrived at the limit of your taxation, and may go on for ever (as this plan seems to hold out) with no, or with no considerable addition to your burthens. Pray think it over.

Ever yours,

G.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Dec. 11th, 1806.

My dear Lord,—You know I have always a strong inclination against *doing*, where one does not clearly see that what is to be done is likely to be beneficial; and if there be one subject above all others to which I apply that principle, it is that of corn. At the same time, I should like to see, as distinctly as it can be ascertained, what our prospects are in that respect. What is supposed the stock in hand; what the state of the last harvest; and what means of supply from America, in case of difficulties.

A much less violent measure than that of making

the Victualling Board purchase for sale, would be that of making them make their own contracts in America, and so keep that portion of our demand wholly out of the home market.

I do not well know what can be done with Sir W. Scott's paper. My own inclination is to say that Government considers no country as hostile but such as have been so declared by an act of the Government, and therefore, that Hamburgers, and other similar claimants, are as much entitled as ever, to recover their property. I should, however, of course, like to know the objections, whatever they are, which can be made to this course of proceeding.

The finance scheme has made no progress since we last talked it over. The calculations are going on, and by to-morrow Vansittart promises me the new statement of the scheme, reducing (by the plan of deferred stock) the taxes to be annually imposed, as low as they can be brought.

Lord Henry and Vansittart dine with me to-morrow, that we may go over the plan in this new form. Can you come, either to dinner or in the evening.

Ever yours, &c.

GRENVILLE.

P.S.—I wish you would have the goodness to order a memorandum to be made for me of such bills as will have to be brought forward early in the session from the Board of Trade.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Malta, Dec. 17th, 1806.

My dear Lord, — Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Major-General Sir John Stuart, who carries with him to England the only laureled trophy wrested from the French on shore this war. Sir John acted as Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in Sicily during the latter period of my residence on that island; and there has existed a great

degree of confidence and good understanding between us. He considers the Earl of Buckinghamshire as his patron, and acknowledges with gratitude the many favours he has received from his Lordship. Should you have an opportunity of conversing confidentially with him, he will be able to give you better information, concerning the state of affairs in this part of Europe, than any other person; and I am persuaded he will do me more justice than I may expect to find elsewhere.

Sir John Stuart acts upon principles distinct from those so generally adopted by military commanders, and is as prone to enterprise and activity as others are to intrigue, scribbling and pedantry. Sir Sidney Smith's absurdities and underhand dealings have deprived us of many of the advantages which accrued from the brilliant victory at Maida; still, however, the French have not recovered that blow; and, instead of acting offensively, as they intended, against Sicily, they are reduced to the necessity of standing upon the defensive in the Calabrias.

I fear it will be the month of May before I reach England. My dear Henry accompanies Sir John Stuart in the *Serapis*; and I once more recommend him to your kindest attention. I trust he will please you; my heart is full of him.

Believe me, my dear Lord, most affectionately yours,

H. ELLIOT.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday.

My dear Lord, — I dine at home, and shall be happy to see you and Vansittart this evening, as soon as it is convenient to you, that we may talk over the outlines of the financial project on which he is now at work. I do really begin to be very sanguine about it. You will see that on the plan we are now pursuing, there will be only a part of the war taxes

to be continued after the return of peace, and that possibly a small one.

But, even should this not be the case, it is to be considered:—

1. That pursuing the present system of borrowing we must impose at the least a million of fresh taxes every year, so that in ten or twelve years more of war (and who shall say we shall have less?), we shall have had to lay on as many millions annually of fresh burthens, in addition to the war taxes, which must go on at the same time.

2. That on the present plan the sinking fund will in eight or nine years come in aid of the war taxes, and enable us (possibly even during war) to relieve the country from some part of that burden; and,

3. That, as by this plan, we shall create, as now, debt without a sinking fund equal to its interest, the proportion of sinking fund to debt will every year be rapidly increasing, and, consequently, the price of stocks kept up against *almost* any circumstances that can occur.

These, however, and many other considerations, we will talk over when we meet.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday.

My dear Lord,—My thoughts and hands have been for the last week almost incessantly employed on the finance plan. I send you the tables as far as they are yet printed, though these are still not quite correct. The statement to which they refer is also under the press; but will still require time and correction. I grow more nervous, as the time for bringing it forward approaches, lest some unknown error should have escaped us, and I most reluctantly give way to the distracting interruption which never leaves me

half an hour together, to fix my thoughts on any one subject.

I shall be most anxious for your last suggestions upon it, when it is brought into an intelligible form; but there are still many tables wanting to make it completely satisfactory.

We talk of bringing it forward on Monday se'n-night, and if possible it is very desirable to do so, and at all events it is right to work at it with that view; but I doubt whether we shall be ready. I am much distressed as to the question of communication—so few persons know anything of the subject, and with those who do it is so impossible to seize in an hour's conversation a subject that we have been a month or six weeks working out, that I expect little good from such communication, and a premature disclosure will do us great injury.

I have written to Baring* to come to town, and shall take his advice, because he is the most intelligent of the money people. But, though I think it useful to consult him, I do not know that even his doubts or objections would keep me back from proposing the plan, unless I am quite satisfied that they are well founded.

Who else is there that you think it useful to talk to?

Can you call here about eleven to-morrow?

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

Mr. Vansittart† to Lord Auckland.

My dear Lord,—I think it is very probable that Baring may approve of *no more* of the principle of the plan than I do. At the same time it is very material that he sees no decisive objection to the general arrangement, and I have no doubt he will be

* Francis Baring.

† Mr. Vansittart, Secretary to the Treasury, had married, 22nd of July, 1806, Lord Auckland's second daughter, Catherine.

extremely useful in the details, in which I shall be glad to co-operate with him, though without meaning to intimate any change of opinion on the general system; and I am fearful of trusting even your discretion in an explanation with Lord Grenville, which he might misapprehend, though I shall certainly trouble him with no more objections.*

Believe me, my dear Lord, faithfully yours,

N. VANSITTART.

The dismissal of the Ministry was occasioned by a dispute between the King and Lord Howick respecting a bill† for allowing Roman Catholic officers to fill any situation in the army or navy.

If Mr. Fox had lived he would probably have prevented the stirring this question, on which the King felt so deeply. But it is possible that the King would have allowed this trifling concession to have been granted, if his mind had not been envenomed by "underhand intriguers."

On the 12th of March, the Duke of Portland, at the instigation of Lord Malmesbury, wrote to the King, recommending him to resist the bill, and virtually offering himself as a successor, a most unconstitutional proceeding.

Lord Malmesbury's action was utterly indefensible after the virtuous indignation he had exhibited in 1801, respecting the imaginary proceedings of Lord Auckland. The King, thus encouraged, resisted every idea of accommodation.

* The financial plan finally determined on was brought forward, on the 29th of February, by Lord Henry Petty, "in an able, perspicuous, and eloquent speech of two hours and twenty minutes."

† Lord Henry's exact proposal was to borrow 12,000,000*l.* during the next three years; in the fourth year, or 1810, 14,000,000*l.*; in the ten succeeding years 16,000,000*l.*; each year appropriating ten per cent. of the extra war taxes to pay the interest of the loan, and to form a sinking fund, which, if interest continued at five per cent., would redeem the debt so created in fourteen years."—*Colchester Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 91.

† The Army and Navy Service Bill.

Lord Grenville's conduct in this affair did not meet with the entire approbation of his party. Lords Auckland and Buckinghamshire thought it a case of "political suicide;" and Sheridan observed* that "he had known many men knock their heads against a wall, but he had never before heard of any man who *collected the bricks and built the very wall* with an intention to knock out his own brains against it."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, March 13th, 1807.

My dear Lord Auckland,—After I saw you I by great accident received a note from Lord Grenville that he had written after I had been in Downing Street, and I was with him at four, but did not get away in time for me to call on you.

He was more encouraging *than usual*, and gave me the opportunity of saying all I had intended, and indeed rather more. I cannot say I left him under any decided impression of the conduct he means to pursue, but the inclination of my mind is to believe that he will not break up his Government.

I repeated to William all that passed, and he will report.

Affectionately yours,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, March 13th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I can only thank you for the kind expressions of your letter. I sincerely value the friendship you are so good as to express towards me. I have not attempted to discuss with you a subject on which I know we differ fundamentally, and whatever may be the result of the business, I trust you

* Colchester Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 109.

will be persuaded that my having observed this line is to be imputed to feelings the very reverse of any want of regard or kindness.

Ever, my dear Lord,
Most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

(Private and confidential.)

Downing Street, March 17th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—It is with real concern that I acquaint you in confidence that the answer received this morning, to a paper which was the object of my journey yesterday, is such, as I am persuaded, we shall all feel leaves us no option. I do not pretend to be indifferent either to the interruption of a course of public service which I really believe was likely to be useful to the public and creditable to myself, or to the sudden disappointment of the views and prospects of so many persons of every description who had embarked with us, and from whom I have experienced so much assistance and kindness of every kind.

But what I have before said is literally true—there is really no option left. Many of those whose advice I most rely on, and whose co-operation is indispensable to me, think I have already gone too far in concession, and beyond what I have done my own judgment will not let me go, even if the opinions of others were not so decisive as they must be on my own.

I most sincerely and warmly feel your friendship to me, and the invaluable assistance I have derived from it. Nor am I insensible to the motives of personal kindness towards myself which are mixed with public considerations in the anxiety you have expressed on this occasion. I have now only to say my *valeté et plaudite*—the first with a secret pleasure in the contemplation of my return to my former retired and studious life; the second, I trust, with no

unreasonable claim to some credit for what has been done in the last thirteen months.

Yours, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, March 17th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I feel most sensibly the kindness of your note. We have not taken the course of *resigning*. The matter stands thus: We brought ourselves, but with great difficulty or reluctance, to offer to the King to let the bill drop; but we felt it absolutely indispensable to accompany this by a reserve of the liberty of stating in Parliament that our opinions remain unaltered, and also to protest that we were not to be understood as precluded by what has now passed from submitting to him from time to time for his decision such proposals or measures as the course of events in Ireland might appear to us to require, conceiving, as we do, that Ireland is at this time the only vulnerable part of the British empire, and that the state of that country will every day press itself more and more on the Government and on Parliament.

To this the King has returned an answer, requiring that the last part of our paper should be withdrawn, and an assurance given him that in no case will we ever propose to him any further measure *connected with that subject*.

Our answer is obvious. We gave him no such assurance when the Government was formed. If he had asked it we should have refused it then, and much less can we with our opinions give it now. We shall, therefore, not *resign*, but refuse giving the pledge he requires, and be *turned out* for that refusal.

You perceive that in this course you could not take any step with propriety to-morrow, but as soon as the King shall have declared his intention of chang-

ing his Government, you might then, I think, write to him whatever appears to you to be proper on such an occasion.

Ever, my dear Lord,
Most truly and faithfully yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

(Confidential.)

Palace Yard, March 18th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I wish to give you a few more last words from our political death-bed ; and if such it must be, nothing can be more natural in our last moments than to do whatever may be done, consistently with truth and fair dealing, to place our lives in the best point of view, that our loss may be regretted, and our memory respected.

With this impression, I submit to you and to Lord Howick that it is a point of great importance to withdraw the bill previously to a final adjustment of the other considerations ; and, perhaps, having more time and means than either of you to watch and to know the general opinions and prejudices, I see more than either of you the necessity of such a step. If that measure were taken to-day, and if the other result (whatever it may be) could be postponed for two days, it would prevent a very probable misconception which will never be removed from the public mind, if it shall once take root there.

No proceeding can be fairer (and, indeed, it is in many respects material) than to give to the King to-day such a reply as may lead him to a revision of his answer.

It is *impossible* that he can mean to say to you, and virtually to your successors, whoever they may be, “ You are my servants, but if my house shall be in flames, you shall not mention it to me. You are my ministers, but if a fourth part of my subjects should be in a state of revolt, you shall promise in no case to mention to me any measure connected with

the suppression of that revolt." This cannot be the meaning. If it were (though it would lead to a very unhappy inference) it should be well ascertained and brought into view. Neither Lord Sidmouth nor Lord Hawkesbury, nor any of them, could venture to come in under so extravagant a pledge.

A very respectful explanatory note should bring the precise meaning to a clear statement. Perhaps his Majesty only wishes to have it understood, that you have at this hour no specific intention to make further propositions to him on the subject in question. Having as yet no adviser but the Duke of Cumberland, he may have used expressions beyond what he would mean on better reflection. I cannot help thinking that a temperate explanation would, in the course of two or three days (more especially after withdrawing the bill), bring this matter to a right bearing.

If there be anything still doubtful in these suggestions, I wish that I could call on you to explain and enforce them.

I am, yours, &c.

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

And now I do not recollect any further arrear, though I fear that I shall discover others in the course of the morning. If not, I hereby take leave of an office which, including *all* the council businesses (except only the appeals), has occupied me not less than six hours on the average of every day for the last thirteen months. And I say this without assuming any merit for the sacrifice of so much time and attention. For really your kind concurrence and the confidence which all the departments placed in my right intentions, and the cordial alacrity with which all the gentlemen of the office worked under me, altogether made the situation a pleasure and no annoyance to me; and I cannot speak with too much

sensibility of Lord Temple's good qualities; and this leads me to *the quitting*.

(Private.)

I shall try this evening to write to the King, and to send my letter to-morrow, if I can frame it to my mind; but it shall previously be submitted to you. I should be sorry to postpone it till any progress shall be made in the new arrangement.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, March 19th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I return your paper with such marginal notes, as will, I hope, enable you to conclude the different businesses you mention, if your view of them accords with mine.

The present moment of course brings such a press upon me from my own secretaries, who are both very inadequately provided for, that I fear I cannot do anything for Mr. Price, which, if possible, I should have had a peculiar pleasure in doing.

I have heard in the course of the morning so much of the strong current of opinion in our favour in the public, that I must doubt the possibility of a government being formed on the ground the King has taken. Lord Hardwicke has just called upon me to state his own and his brother's opinion as clear against the possibility of requiring any such pledge, or giving it if required.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, March 20th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—There is a part of your letter * of which it is very difficult for me to speak, except to express the highest gratification which I derive from

* To the King.

it—whether as the result of judgment or of partiality—in both cases it cannot but be most grateful to me.

I have ventured to suggest a change of a few words in the last page; it is chiefly in order that you may not be represented as having put in an unqualified resignation.

The taking in Lord Lowther is, I presume, only done in order to show the two bodies out of which the Government is to be composed.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to the King.

Palace Yard, March 20th, 1837.

Lord Auckland presumes to address your Majesty on an occasion which appears to him to involve the internal happiness and foreign interests of your Majesty's dominions. He is encouraged to this intrusion by your Majesty's experience and perfect knowledge that on the subject in question he holds the same opinions with your Majesty, and that he will never hesitate to maintain those opinions which are founded on his sense of that political and religious constitution over which your Majesty presides. By your Majesty's many favours to him and to his family, he has ceased to have any object of worldly* pursuits; and he feels that he has arrived at a period of life in which he is totally separated from the heated contests and prejudices to which earlier years are liable; and he can appeal to that supreme Being, into whose presence a few years must carry him, that he is actuated by no motive but to do good. With these impressions, and having lived much in the confidence and friendship of the minister who has conducted your Majesty's affairs during the last thirteen months, and

* Since the death of Lord Thurlow in 1806, the Tellership of the Exchequer, bestowed on Lord Auckland's son, had fallen in.



having seen that the eminent powers of mind possessed by that minister have been exerted with an integrity and rectitude of intention above all suspicion, and with an energy beyond all example, it is impossible for him not to deplore the misunderstanding (for such, and such only, he ventures to say it must have been) which is likely to induce your Majesty to remove such a minister from your councils, and eventually to place the country in a predicament to be greatly dreaded in the actual conjuncture and temper and tendency of human affairs.

Having said this with all humility and sincerity of mind, from a due conviction of its truth, and from the purest influence of grateful and affectionate respect and duty, Lord Auckland will not expect to be honoured with any answer, but will only request that he may, if that dreaded event should take place, consider himself as retiring from an office which, though of a secondary description, is of considerable importance, when discharged, as he trusts it has been, with due diligence, and under the inspection and with the confidence of a strong and enlightened Government.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

My dear Lord,—Am I really to believe that the resolution is made to exchange an administration that, from its merits, is in full possession of the public confidence, for one that can hardly ever expect to obtain it; and in such a moment? If so, chaos is come again. I see nothing but misery at home, a rebellion in Ireland, and an immediate separate peace between Russia and Bonaparte.

Pray give a line, and believe me to be, ever yours
most sincerely,

CARLISLE.

Lord Howick to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Downing Street, March 22nd, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I cannot help expressing to you the sense I entertain of the very kind and flattering letter I have just received from you. I can, with truth, assure you, that I have felt the greatest obligation to you for the prompt and useful assistance you have afforded me on so many occasions during the short time I have been in office ; and I shall always reflect with pleasure on the circumstances which have enabled me to form a connection which I hope will not easily be broken.

It becomes material to consider what course we should take with a view to our present situation and our future prospects. Our friends are very eager for some measure which might enable us to show, as soon as possible, our strength in the House of Commons ; and you must be aware of the disadvantage of delay, and of the effect it will produce both on zeal and members. At present, I am assured by those who have examined the facts accurately, and who know the House of Commons better than I do, that we could, on any day before Monday, when Parliament must adjourn for the holidays, divide 220. This is considered as a moderate calculation, and does not include Lord Sidmouth's friends. There will be, perhaps, some awkwardness in having any question moved before we are out of office ; but it seems to me necessary that we should do something before the holidays.

Fawkes, I hear, means to put some questions to me to-morrow, to which, of course, I can say little more than I have already said, under the present circumstances ; but they may prepare the House for a motion on Wednesday, when I think we certainly shall be out, as they will hardly suffer another levée to pass without having made their arrangements ; in the form of the motion there may be some question.

I am inclined to think the best would be a resolution, founded on the pledge which was required of us, as respecting the grounds on which the new ministers have accepted office, on an address to the King to know who advised him to require such an assurance from us. Pray think of this, and let me have your opinion.

I am, my dear Lord, ever yours sincerely,
HOWICK.

P.S. I will speak to Lord Grenville to appoint an hour on Tuesday for our meeting on the Treaty*, which, I agree with you, ought to be signed.

Lord Auckland to Lord Howick.

Palace Yard, March 23rd, 1807.

My dear Lord,—Your question involves so many objects that I cannot attempt to discuss it in a letter; and I can only advert to a few general and prominent considerations. You are fortunately too young to have seen what passed immediately after the removal of the coalition ministry. It was my fate at that time to prepare many, indeed most, of the motions which Mr. Fox brought forward, and which showed that we had a decided majority in the House of Commons. We even carried an address to the throne not to dissolve. But the Lords were against us, which cannot yet be said to be the case on this occasion, and the country in general out of doors had been turned against us by various manœuvres, which Lord Grenville must well recollect, and (which is most material) Mr. Pitt headed our opponents in the first vigour and energy of his talents and with the assistance of Lord Grenville. Nor did there then exist in our internal and foreign interests the same pressure on the public mind for a strong and efficient ministry.

The comparative circumstances are therefore much

* The American Treaty.

in our favour, but it is extremely material to satisfy the country that we are not seeking to hold the throne in thralldom, that we are not turned out for "Popery" (which is and will be the cry of courtiers), nor because we insist on any specific measure. It must be well and thoroughly explained that pernicious counsels have been given by underhand intriguers, and that you have been required to accede to a proposition impossible to be acceded to without personal dishonour and public criminality. If that explanation can be clearly and incontrovertibly carried to the public mind, the rest will be plain sailing, and the sooner we put to sea for those purposes certainly the better. It will be attempted to intimidate the class of speculators in the new Parliament by whispered menaces of dissolution; but that motive, if well managed, may be made to act against the whisperers. There is one obvious and material difficulty. If you postpone Mr. Fawkes's motion till Wednesday, you will be told that many principal parties have accepted office and are out of Parliament, and that in fairness you must wait for their return.

I am, &c.,
AUCKLAND.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Bath, Wednesday, March 25th.

My dear Lord,—I suppose what is passing at this moment at the Queen's House will by to-morrow afford a clue to this great political manœuvre, and that we shall have a tolerable guess at who are to be our masters. I concern myself only for individuals, of which Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Wickham are the principal. I thought from the first that Lord Grenville's conduct deserved what Sheridan has so wittingly expressed.

The whole is to me unaccountable, and justifies the adage, "*Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*," for it indeed is *madness*, with not a little low *praud*

intermixed. Lord Harrowby is here, and, I believe, means to continue some time longer. He, too, is as much surprised as I am at Lord Grenville's strange management. He ought to have known his Majesty better, and not given him this opportunity of dismissing him and his colleagues. I hope and trust that Lord Sidmouth will have nothing to do with *either* party.

If anybody interested themselves about anything except "who is to be who?" I should ask what is to become of the Finance Bill, and the Slave* Trade Bill, and the House of Commons itself, which, I think, must end with the session. It is a great comfort to be out of the tattle of this business. It is very easy *here* to say, what is very true, that you know nothing at all of the matter, but in London you must at least *hear* what everybody knows for *certain*, however contradictory, in every street. Except Lord Harrowby, we have no informed politicians—Lord Pembroke and Lord Vernon are, like myself, all in the dark, and shall probably continue so forty-eight hours longer. People here, in general, are glad of the change, as not liking the Fox party. I hope the King continues calm and well. This, too, will affect the Princess of Wales' case!† Love to Lady Auckland.

I am, my dear Lord, yours sincerely,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Monday.

I am heartily glad to quit town as well on account of the heat, noise and dirt, as to be away from the spirit of party. I see much acrimony, envenomed the more by defeat, and the very remote prospect of recovering what has been so foolishly lost. *Apropos*

* The Royal assent was given to this bill on the 25th of March. Lord Auckland acted as one of the commissioners,—the last act of his official life.

† An investigation was proceeding respecting the conduct of the Princess.

of this, Sydney Smith preached yesterday, at Berkeley Chapel, a sermon on the Catholic question, which must have been as grating to the ears of Lord Lonsdale, Bishop Cornwallis*, &c., who were present, as gratifying to those of many of the opposite party also present. It would have made an admirable party speech in Parliament; but as a sermon, the author deserved the Star Chamber, if it still existed.

The Woods and Forests, it is thought, will be put into commission. Lord Glenbervie will in that case be of it.

The enclosed may assure you; pray send it to me at Tunbridge.

Adieu, with every good wish to yourself, Lady Auckland, and all yours,

HENLEY.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, near Beaconsfield, April 3rd, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I am much inclined to believe from all I see and hear, that it will not be quite in the Duke of Portland's† power, to decide how many years he will pass in Downing Street. We have anticipated your suggestion as to Lord Stafford's motion, which will not come on till Friday, or possibly, indeed, not till the Monday following, as we expect the House of Commons debate to last two days. Those who understand the House of Commons, seem to have little doubt of our carrying our question there. In the House of Lords I think we shall divide from 80 to 100, proxies included; and they from 120 to 140; but I hardly think we can be less than 90 or they more than 130.

I always expected that Lord Sidmouth would

* Brother of Lord Cornwallis.

† In the Duke of Portland's ministry, Mr. Canning became Foreign and Lord Castlereagh War Secretary, Mr. Perceval Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Parliament was dissolved on the 29th of April, and the "No Popery" cry was found very useful by the ministerial supporters.

endeavour again to raise a separate standard, but I hardly think he can make much of it. Lord Harrowby, of course, was to be expected against us, and I only wonder that he is not brought more prominently forward.

The form * of our motion is not yet finally settled, but my idea is a string of resolutions :—

1. That the late ministers had the confidence of Parliament and the public.

2. That it would be highly criminal in any ministers to bind themselves by any pledge, to abstain from giving their best advice, &c. &c.

3. That to advise her Majesty to dismiss ministers having the confidence, &c. &c., on account of their refusing to give a pledge, &c. &c. is contrary to the principles of the Constitution, &c. &c.

4. That to accept office under such pledge expressed *or implied*, renders the persons so accepting unworthy of the confidence of Parliament, &c.

Pray let me know what you think of this.

I should feel no difficulty in speaking and voting for the first of these questions as a fact notorious to all the world, or to describe *my colleagues* as worthy of that confidence.

I still hope you will come to town on Wednesday. I return Monday.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

P.S. Your letter went to Gerard's Cross, and was two days coming.

Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland.

Hertford Street, April 4th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for your letter. I wish I could retire into the country as you do. I perfectly agree with you in the term

* A motion was brought forward by Mr. Brand on April 9th, but it was rejected by 258 to 226. Lord Stafford's motion in the House of Lords was also unsuccessful.

by which you describe the demise that has happened in the late administration. It is certainly a political suicide, and if it had not happened now, you may be assured it would have happened in the course of the next six months.

Lord Grenville is the most extraordinary character I ever knew. He has talents of uncommon industry, but he never sees a subject with all its bearings, and consequently, his judgment never can be right. He is not an ill-tempered man, but he has no feelings for any one, not even for those to whom they are most due. He is in his outward manner offensive to the last degree. He is rapacious with respect to himself and family, but a great economist with respect to every one, and everything else. I have thus given you what appears to me to be his true character ; and I leave you to judge, whether such a man can ever succeed as a political character.

My son, Lord Hawkesbury, was as much surprised with this event, as you could be. He never saw or had any communication with the King, though he knew his Majesty's affection for him, of which he was assured by some of the younger Princesses, in accidental conversations. He left me on Wednesday, the 18th March, at eleven o'clock at night, not knowing or expecting anything. When he returned home he found a letter from Colonel Taylor, commanding him to be at Windsor, at 10 o'clock the next morning, with Lord Eldon. There Colonel Taylor first and the King afterwards, communicated to him the whole that had passed, and the King commanded him and Lord Eldon to try to form an administration, for that he could not go on with the present. From that time, in the course of a fortnight, I never saw my son but twice. Some things that passed were occasionally communicated to me by letter. I have thus told you a plain tale of all that has come to my knowledge. I shall only add, that I know the resolution of my son to be such, that he will die in the breach ; but I begin to entertain hopes that he will be successful.

I am obliged to you for your congratulations on my daughter's supposed marriage, but it will not take place, for Lord Grimston will not make a settlement suitable either to her rank or her fortune.

I beg my best compliments to Lady Auckland, and I am, my dear Lord,

Your faithful, humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Thursday.

The Drawing Room was very crowded ; the Prince arrived at the same time as the Queen, the Princess some time afterwards. She placed herself very near to him. She dressed I believe at Kensington, where *she is to have* apartments. The entrance at Carlton House and Warwick House was forbidden her.

I was at the Queen's House the last two nights, and found the King in perfect health and spirits, but his sight is certainly not improved.

Lord Milton's* friends are very sanguine, and those of Lascelles very dejected. It is said that a car is constructing to carry Burdett to the House of Commons, — would that it were to Tyburn ! Good night.

Lady C. Jenkinson's marriage is settled through the mediation of Sir Joseph Banks, and will soon take place. She is to have £2000 a-year jointure.

HENLEY.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Roehampton, July 18th, 1807.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I do not think our public prospects improved by the language of Lord Grenville in the House of Lords on Monday last. He then repeatedly declared, without the emancipation of the Catholics, "the country could not be saved." Such a declaration, from such an individual, at such a time,

* Lord Milton was returned.

was calculated to do more mischief than anything that ever came from the lips of Lord Cochrane, or any of his associates,—and if ever Lord Grenville spoke unadvisedly, I should say he did upon that occasion. We are looking for a day to go to Louisa; and purpose taking you on our way home.

Eleanor joins in love to Lady Auckland and yourself.

Yours, affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, July 26th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I have been on a tour to Stowe and Althorpe, which has prevented my answering your last letter as early as I ought.

I am afraid that I expressed myself in the House of Lords, on the subject of Ireland, in terms stronger than was likely to be agreeable, either to the ministerialists or to Lord Sidmouth's party,—and I fear also, my view of that subject is different from that which is entertained by you, and by many other persons for whose judgment I have the most sincere and unaffected deference and respect. But the impression I have taken of the matter is such, that it would in such a moment as the present have been criminal not to speak out openly, and without reserve. I do in my conscience believe, that all measures of defence which do not go to conciliate to our cause the great mass of the population of Ireland, are mere palliatives which may alter some of the symptoms or appearances of our disorder, but leave no reference to its spring and principles.

Whoever has been obliged, as I was for so many years, to watch the course of the events of a naval war, must know that no maritime superiority can enable us to prevent an enemy who has the command of the whole coasts and navies from Stockholm to

Alexandria, from landing troops in Ireland. No naval superiority could prevent this, nor can any reasonable man ensure that in the present state of Europe we can retain any naval superiority at all, for any considerable space of time.

If French troops are landed in Ireland, what will be the conduct of the middling and lower classes of that country? My persuasion is, that a hostile neutrality is the utmost we can now hope, and more than we can reasonably expect from them.

Can we then defend Ireland by British troops alone, against the invasion of France, and the wishes, if not the exertions, of the mass of its own population? I am confident we cannot. The example of America is in point, and the case of Ireland is far more difficult than that ever was. We shall be threatened at every point, and those who know what is the real (not the ostensible) state of our volunteers, our militia, and even of great parts of our army, will not think that our means are superabundant even for the purposes of defence in this island. To subdue a rebellion in Ireland aided by French invasion, I am certain they are quite inadequate.

In this picture the only thing that can be disputed is the reality of the dispositions which I state to exist among the middling and lower classes in Ireland. This, like all other questions of public opinion and disposition, can be judged of only from past experience, and from the actual information of those who have the opportunities and the abilities to know what the truth is. I do not know whether you have any intelligence on which you rely, as to what is passing in that country. All the information I receive is of the most gloomy colour, and the very last thing I heard, is of the renewal of the design of uniting, Dissenters and Catholics, against the continuance of the Union. You know that this coalition produced the last rebellion of what were called *United Irishmen*. After that the Dissenters and Catholics were separated by the support which the latter body gave to the

Union, in the hope, though not with the promise, of what they call *emancipation*. That hope disappointed, and the whole spirit of the English nation appearing hostile to them, they are invited to resume their former connection with the republicans of the North. And who shall answer for the result?

I know it is said, and truly, that if this spirit of disaffection exist, it will not be removed at once, and by the mere act of admitting half a dozen Catholic peers or gentlemen to share the legislature with nine hundred or a thousand Protestants. But all conciliation, though gradual, must have a beginning, and is accomplished much more by the return which demonstrations of goodwill and kindness create, than by the sense of actual benefits conferred. Something certainly (even if emancipation were given) must still remain to be done on the subject of tithes, without which Ireland never can be tranquillized. But the real effect to be produced is by creating a belief among that very large body of men, that the union with England has ensured to them the affection and kindness of the British Government, Parliament, and people. Unless this be done, they will still believe that in resisting French invasion they are fighting your battle and not their own.

I had no idea when I took up my pen of writing to you a political essay, and upon the only one subject, as I trust, in the whole circle of political discussion, on which we are not fully agreed. But really this subject is at times uppermost in my mind. I do believe the existence of the country depends upon it, and I am apt to reproach myself with not doing enough to endeavour to impress upon the public here that conviction by which I myself am completely governed. It is a melancholy thing to say, but it is the truth, that so long as the King is pertinacious, the Government submissive, and the country indifferent on this point, I do not entertain any hopes, not any at all, that we can outlive the storm. And even the remedy which I think might now be effectual is one

of much less efficacy now, than it would have been if sooner applied, and which the lapse of a few months more may render as unavailing as I confidently think every other must prove.

I am, my dear Lord, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

GRENVILLE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

September 20th.

My dear Lord,—I hope you got a Gazette last night, which I ordered, not having time to write. I enclose the Supplement ; and I trust that at least you will allow that there never was an expedition* of such magnitude so quickly got up, so secretly sent off, and which was conducted from beginning to its termination with greater ability or success. I think it does Lord Castlereagh great credit. We are now at least safer ; in particular Ireland is safe.

I suppose you lament over the disasters† at Buenos Ayres. I thought failure impossible, and nothing but the plan adopted could have produced it. It is extremely mortifying, for at Monte Video our garrison was living on the best terms with the Spaniards, our trade was increasing rapidly ; and if we had chosen to play the game of independence, I am confident we could have placed all the Spanish provinces on their legs without bloodshed or revolutionary convulsions. I never was so hurt. All my fine projects, which my brain had been indulging, gone for ever.

Pray offer my best compliments to Lady Auckland.

I am, ever most truly,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
E. COOKE.

* To Copenhagen.

† Defeat of General Whitelocke, July 5th.

Mr. William Eden to Lord Auckland.

Boconnoc, Friday.

My dear Father,—Since my last we have been to the *Ultima Thule*. On Monday we returned to Sir W. Lemon's, and on Tuesday arrived here, where we have passed three very pleasant days.

This is really a fine place, with an extensive park, and extremely well wooded, which forms a striking contrast to the rest of the country.

Many people enjoy their country houses, but Lord Grenville's attachment to Boconnoc surpasses anything I have yet seen. He gets up between six and seven, is out almost the whole of the day in his plantations, dines at three exactly, and in the evening reads or plays at chess. Politics are no more alluded to in conversation than astrology. The letters and newspapers arrive at Lostwithiel at twelve, and are not brought here till eight in the evening — by particular desire, that they may not interfere with the amusements of the day. Nobody is here but M. Fagel and one of Lord Fortescue's sons. Mr. Grenville is expected soon. We depart to-morrow for Plymouth, from which place we shall proceed to Sir L. Palk's, where you will have the goodness to direct your next letters.

I showed Lord Grenville your letter to Mr. Canning, and also Lord Holland's, and he entirely approved of both. He said he could not conceive how we could assert a right to search any neutral vessels except merchant vessels; and with regard to Canning's design (if he entertains one) of picking a hole in your negotiation, thought it entirely of a piece with the attacks to be expected from him and his colleagues.

We have this moment heard of the capture of Copenhagen, and of fifteen sail of the line—*quod felix faustumque sit*. Lord Grenville read it out, without a syllable of remark.

Pray remember me most affectionately to my mother, and believe me, my dear father,

Your dutiful son,

W. F. EDEN.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Boconnoc, October 2nd, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I will keep Garlike's* letter, to be returned to you with the others when we meet. Since you wrote you will have seen the declaration respecting the Danish business, which contains, of course, the grounds on which that measure is to be rested. The impression of my own mind at present is that there are not wanting fair arguments to support the justice of the measure, supposing its utility can be made out. There is, however, one diabolical principle more than insinuated in the declaration, that this country has reason to be weary of its *scrupulous forbearance*, which places her in *so disadvantageous a situation*, when contrasted with Bonaparte's injustice and violence, and that it is time for us to fight our enemy with his own poisoned weapons. A most horrible position, and the worse for being so well accommodated to the passions of the multitude.

Yours, &c.

GRENVILLE.

P.S. I rejoice to hear that Whitelocke is to be tried. I have always detested that wretched system of compromise between Government and its officers, by which they are mutually to defend each other in all cases and against all attacks, right or wrong. This was Lord Melville's course, and it has done infinite mischief to the service.

* Minister in Denmark ; he was removed for stating that the Danes were not making naval preparations.—*Grenville Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 201.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Boconnoc, October 24th, 1807.

My dear Lord,—I am very happy that Vansittart declined a negotiation* so little promising as that confided to G. Rose.† The course which you state was certainly that which common sense would have pointed out. The *contrivance* of introducing a disclaimer of the right to search ships of war into a proclamation for recalling seamen is as undignified as it is foolish.

Lady Grenville hopes to be allowed to supply you with some rhododendrons, but their arrival must be deferred till we reach Dropmore, as so important a trust cannot be confided to any one else in her absence. I shall leave this place most unwillingly, but I fear I cannot stay beyond the first or second week in next month.

Ever, most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Mr. Monroe to Lord Auckland.

Portsmouth, November 3rd, 1807.

My dear Lord Auckland,—It was much the desire of my family and of myself to have taken leave of your Lordship and of Lady Auckland at Eden Farm, before we left England, but it was impossible to do it. You have both travelled much, and know the fatigue and embarrassment incident to such a movement, and will make an allowance for us. We beg you to be assured that we had you in mind when we left London, and that the mere form of bidding you an affectionate adieu, was the only circumstance of which you had a right to complain.

The business in which I have been lately engaged

* With the American government. † Mr. George Henry Rose.

with Mr. Canning, is transferred to the United States. That measure was adopted in consequence of our not being able to agree in it. It furnishes me an opportunity to return home, which, you will know, I have long desired. I arrived here yesterday, and expect to sail as soon as the wind will allow me. At present, it is quite unfavourable. Our ship and accommodations are good, so that we have as fair a prospect of a good voyage, as the advanced season can afford. I could not, however, sail, without recalling to mind the very friendly intercourse which took place between us in the late negotiation, and the honourable and confidential manner in which it was conducted by Lord Holland and yourself, to which I shall always do justice.

Mrs. Monroe and my daughter desire their best regards to be presented to Lady Auckland, and I beg you to be assured of the great respect and esteem with which I am, sincerely yours,

JAS. MONROE.

P.S. Be so good as to remember me to your son, Mr. Eden.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke. — Mr. Ponsonby appointed Leader of the Opposition. — The Walcheren Expedition. — Quarrel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh. — Resignation of the Duke of Portland. — Mr. Perceval writes to Lords Grey and Grenville respecting the Formation of a new Ministry. — Lord Grenville comes up to town. — Lord Grey declines the proposal, and remains in the Country. — Lord Auckland modifies his opinions on the Catholic Question. — Contest at Oxford. — Lord Grenville's success. — The King's opinion of Lord Grenville. — Lord Eldon and the Duke of Cumberland. — Disappearance of William Eden. — Lord Auckland's affliction. — Ministers defeated in the House of Commons.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, February 9th, 1809.

My dear Lord, — What a disgusting scene has been opened by this accusation of the Duke of York! I am very sorry it was not immediately and publicly disclaimed by opposition. It is impossible to believe that anything more can be imputable to the Duke, than might have happened to any man who has had the misfortune to keep a mistress. It is shocking to see the time of the House of Commons, and the attention of the public, occupied by such matters at the present moment.

I am, my dear Lord, ever yours most truly,
GREY.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, March 31st, 1809.

My dear Lord, — Your Spanish news was too good to be true. I heard it from other quarters; but experience would have taught me to suspend my belief.

What you will see of the Westminster Hall * language will certainly lead you to feel pleasure in learning that, on a full explanation which Lord Grey and Lord Henry Petty have separately had with Whitbread, it has been distinctly understood that their party-connection with him is at an end.

This separation has, as you well know, existed in fact from the very moment the last Government was formed ; but it is useful to have it at last explained, and avowed that the fact is so.

The storm is gathering round us within and without ; and, instead of having a man like Pitt to defend us, we are in the hands of a set of people who neither know what they mean, nor if they did, have either talent or spirit to pursue it.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, April 1st, 1809.

My dear Lord,— I quite agree with you that the course of what is called opposition † in the House of Commons has long required a remedy, but *that* is not so easy to be found. What has now happened will do something, and the Westminster Hall speeches may do a great deal more. But the truth is, that while we are disputing whether the ship be well steered or not, others are at work to destroy its whole frame ; and it is very difficult to resist the blunders of the pilots, without assisting the mutinous part of its crew.

I am disposed to think that you should on the first day after the recess, move to summon the House for a motion for an address to rescind the orders in Council, on the new ground of the repeal of the Embargo. If then they tell you that the orders in

* Mr. Whitbread, Sir Francis Burdett, and Major Wardle had been using strong language respecting the Duke of York.

† Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed leader.

Council will be rescinded, so much the better ; if not, we shall have a fresh opportunity to protest against the folly of a war with America, whether that war be commercial, naval, or military.

Can you contrive to remind Lord Sidmouth of the Bishop of Gloucester's proxy for the Spanish question? I think we could contrive that it should be given if we had it.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, Saturday, August 24th.

My dear Lord,—Lord Barrington* was a wise man in his generation, and he *often* advised me to hold no land! I said, "But a garden, my lord, and perhaps a field for a cow." "No! no garden! no field;" and the fact was, that he let out *his* fields and *his* gardens quite up to the doors of *his* house.

He, therefore, never suffered from storms of rain or hailstones, though as large as pigeon's eggs. Was this wise?† Or was it not?

I am, my dear Lord, yours, faithfully,
J. HATSELL.

It is *rather odd* that, some hours after I had finished my letter, in reading in the first book of "Cicero de Officiis," I found the following passage:—he is speaking of building *great houses*, which, in a *republic* Cicero recommends as one means of courting

* The late War Minister.

† Many of the other friends of Lord Auckland had been so much pleased with his farm, that they also became agriculturists. Mr. Hatsell, after much inquiry into the "Profits of Farming," persuaded himself, in spite of Lord Barrington's advice, that he might find it an inexpensive amusement. He therefore took a farm, and engaged a bailiff, "one Humphries," who was always prophesying rain when it was not wanted; and it was doubtless a balance-sheet of a most alarming character from Humphries which led to this inquiry.

the support of the vulgar; but he adds, "Non domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda est." These words put me in mind of an epigram written by a Frenchman on the Palace of Versailles, in the time of Louis XIV.:—

"Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ulla,
Urbe domum, dominum nec domus ulla *parem*."

The writer offered a bet of a crown that the English language could not express this thought in so few words; on which, an Englishman wrote:—

"The world such Nation has not, nation town,
Town house, house lord, — give me the *crown*!"

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Boconnoc, Sept. 19th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—I am in your debt for one or two letters; but what can I send you from hence but unavailing lamentations on the desperate folly of which we are now feeling a part only of the evil consequences, for much, assuredly, still remains behind?

I am quite in the dark as to these ministerial changes*, and all I desire is to remain at a great distance from all that belongs to them.

Lord Chatham, I hear, abuses Lord Castlereagh. I suppose the latter returns the compliment; and how it happens that they are both kicked out together I know not, nor, to say the truth, do I think it very interesting. I see no chance that any of these changes will infuse into the Government more moderation and prudence, which is all we have to found any hopes upon.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

* The resignation of Lord Castlereagh.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

(Secret.)

Downing Street, Sept. 25th.

My dear Lord,—I have not been lately much in a state for writing. What has passed here is very melancholy. You will not believe that Lord Castlereagh was virtually turned out of office above three months ago, on Mr. Canning's demand, and that, being kept in a state of profound ignorance, he was allowed to bring forward the whole measures of the campaign, with the full persuasion of the unanimous support of his colleagues; and that it was only when it was announced that the expedition had failed by Lord Chatham's* not proceeding to Antwerp, that he was, for the first time, informed, not only that he was to be removed from office, but that his removal, and Lord Wellesley's succession to him, had been arranged and positively promised for three months before, and that he had been the dupe and victim of Mr. Canning's ambition, whilst he had been daily receiving marks of his confidence. This is not credible in a Christian country. All has been confusion ever since, and Lord Castlereagh has been forced to vindicate himself from the personal indignity.

I hear there is a negotiation going forward—that is, opened—with Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, for a broad basis. Certain I am we want a strong Government. You will not believe that all which has happened has been from Canning's monkey tricks to make himself premier. It is very bad; but I have no fear of the country, though I think it fated that Bonaparte should last for some time in his career.

Believe me ever most truly and most faithfully yours,
E. COOKE.

* The appointment of Lord Chatham was indefensible. "An officer on the staff said he should not have known the existence of a commander-in-chief, had he not seen in a garden at Batz two turtles sprawling on their backs. He was never visible till two o'clock."—*Court and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. iv. p. 356.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Boconnoc, Sept. 25th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—Soon after you receive this I shall be in town, upon no very wise errand.

The cabinet, as you will have seen, is broken to pieces, and the *Rump* has judged it useful to advise the King to authorise Perceval to write to Grey and me, to say that he, with Lord Liverpool, is authorised by his Majesty to communicate with us, for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration, and to desire that we will come to town for this purpose. If I had refused to come, I should have been accused of flying in the King's face, and refusing to obey his commands. I have, therefore, written to say that, *in obedience to his Majesty's commands*, I shall lose no time in coming to town, and deferring till then all observations on the rest of the letter.

I believe no reasonable person will think that Grey or I can consent to treat with these people as an existing Government, and to submit to the King *through them* our views of men and measures. But no doubt they mean to ground on our refusal an appeal to the passions of the people. I heartily wish they would leave me quiet. I want to mix in none of their intrigues; nor have I any ambition to take upon myself the consequences of all the mischief they have done.

I expect to be in town on Friday morning. When you can, pray call upon me.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

Trentham, Sept. 26th, 1809.

Dear Lord Auckland,—I wished, in my passage through London the other day, to have found an hour

to have come to Eden Farm, and have had a little talk with you in this strange position of things. In common times the failure of such an expedition, at the expense of ten millions; two cabinet ministers fighting a duel*; not one character capable of directing the whole, but each acting separately by himself; each circumstance sufficient to work the destruction of any administration: yet in these uncommon times I am prepared to see this Government struggle long for life, while a certain great personage holds hartshorn under its nose, and declares it not to be dead as long as it shows the smallest pulse and motion.

Accident brought to my knowledge a fact which sufficiently proves how near to his heart is this desire of retaining these people at any rate. I will tell it you when we meet; it is not quite right stuff for a letter. If the Duke of Portland sinks, the partiality is not so great for the others as the dislike to some of our friends. What will happen is difficult to guess. The theatrical† polemics occupy the public more than any probable change of ministers; these will profit of this tub for the whale. Why should Canning give way if Lord Castlereagh retires? But I am, perhaps, discussing topics completely decided upon. Give my blindness a ray of light, and be so good as to direct to me at Castle Howard.

Sickness, I trust, has departed from your house.

Believe me, my dear Lord, to be ever yours,

CARLISLE.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Nocton, Sept. 27th, 1809.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I am much obliged to you for your letter of yesterday; for, although I had little doubt, from the manner in which the "Courier"

* On the 21st of September.

† The O. P. rows.

announced the intelligence, that Lords Grenville and Grey had been sent for, at this distance to be relieved from all conjecture was highly satisfactory.

I have also received from another quarter the copy of the correspondence to which you allude; and, indeed, it never happened to me to become acquainted with any transaction, in which men pretending to character were concerned, that betrayed so much baseness and perfidy.

If Lord Castlereagh had not been quitting the War Department, I think he must have carried his hostilities into other quarters. Lord Sidmouth wrote to me on his arrival at Richmond Park on Monday evening. He had seen nobody, and knew nothing but what he had collected from the newspapers. As far as I can judge from his letter, he will be disposed to pursue whatever line may appear to him the best calculated to assist in getting the country out of the tremendous difficulties with which it is surrounded; but he was too much in the dark to deal in anything but generals.

My earnest wish, both from public and private considerations, is that *we* may all act together.

Ever yours affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, Sept. 29th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—I have to thank you for your two obliging letters of the 24th and 26th.

You probably will have heard before this reaches you that I have rejected the proposition made to me, which you seem indeed to have anticipated by a passage in your last letter. It remains, therefore, only for me to tell you what the proposition was.

The letter was from Mr. Perceval, and stated that, in consequence of the Duke of Portland having signified his intention of retiring from office, the King


had authorised him, in conjunction with Lord Liverpool, to communicate with Lord Grenville and myself for the purpose of forming a combined administration. It stated that a similar communication had been made to Lord Grenville, expressed a wish that I should go to town, and concluded by informing me that Castlereagh and Canning had also declared their intention of resigning their offices.

Such a proposition seemed to me to require little or no deliberation. It cannot be the wish of any man, who is not hurried away by a blind ambition, to take a share in the Government under circumstances like the present. But a sense of duty might compel me to incur that risk, if a fair hope were presented to me of rendering my services useful to the country. Such a hope did not offer itself to me in the proposed junction with men who came into office on the principles of the present ministry, who have since brought such a succession of calamities on the country, and who now stand chargeable with these consequences of their misconduct.

I therefore immediately re-despatched the messenger with an answer, stating that if the King had signified that he had any commands to me personally, I should immediately have obeyed the call ; but that, when it was proposed to me to communicate with the present ministers, for the purpose of forming a combined administration with them, I found myself obliged to declare at once that such an union was, with respect to me, impossible; and that, this being my determination, my appearance in London could answer no useful purpose, and might, possibly, at a moment like the present, be attended with some inconvenience.

This is the substance of the answer which I have sent, with the omission only of those general forms of respect to the King which I was anxious to express in the strongest way. Tierney has copies both of Perceval's letter and mine, and if you see him you may ask him to show them to you.

I hope you will think what I have done right, both



in form and in substance. The only doubt in my own mind is as to the propriety of my not going to town. But when I was desired to do so only for the purpose of treating on an inadmissible basis, I thought I could not show my regard for the real interests of the King's service more strongly than by declining to take a step which could only tend to the encouragement of false hopes and speculations, and might be extremely injurious if it delayed the necessary arrangements for forming a settled Government, which is so essentially necessary in a crisis of unexampled danger to the public safety.

The paper marked "secret," which you were so good as to enclose in your last letter, confirms the accounts I had before received of the real cause of the late duel. For once Castlereagh appears to me to have had the good fortune to have the best of the case. It is impossible to defend Canning's conduct, either in a public or a private view. What is to be said of his sense of duty if he could, in the most active season of the most extensive military operations in which the country ever was engaged, permit a minister to remain at the head of the War Department whom he had proscribed as unfit for his situation? Or what of his fairness as a man if, having so proscribed his colleague in office, he so conducted himself as to give him no reason to suspect it? His pretension to occupy the post of Mr. Pitt seems modest enough!

I hope now that no further proposals will be made to me, and that I shall be permitted to remain, as the "Courier" some time ago promised me, undisturbed in my retirement.

I beg to be very kindly remembered to Mr. Eden, if he is with you, and am, my dear Lord,

Ever yours most truly,

GREY.

P.S. I have not heard from Lord Grenville for some time, but I have no reason to believe that his answer

will be materially different from mine ; though, as he is a better judge of these matters, he may in the manner not pursue exactly the same line.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Bamhill, Oct. 3rd, 1809.

My dear Lord,— I thank you very kindly for your letter and the enclosure, the whole of which has ended just as I expected it would. I am, however, very glad Lord Grenville came to town, and did not stay at Boconnoc, as Lord Grey did in the North ; and I am likewise very glad Lord Grenville sent the answer he did to the proposition, which, had he accepted, would have ruined him completely in the public estimation, having already suffered so much from his former coalition. The end of all this must be, I should think, the recall of Canning *, on almost any terms, or the total stand-still of Government ; for the King will hold out to the last before he would give *carte blanche* to Lord Grenville.

I am sorry at such a moment the King should hesitate on the right course to pursue, for it is the only chance the country has for salvation ; but I own I despair of the King's discontinuing *a little game* which he has ever been too fond of, and which has done such incalculable mischief. His popularity is very great, for the mass of people look up to his good moral character, and to his age, and to a comparison with his sons ; and they don't know *what we know*, all the little tricks he has done, and can play, to keep up and preserve his own system of governing by the "*divide et impera*." I fear I write a great deal of nonsense, but what can be expected from a country gentleman "over the hills and far away" ? Lord Grenville has been so good as to write to me, which I have answered : "Bogy for ever !" I am very glad Lord Grenville settles at Dropmore, and I hope you will see him often.

* Lord Wellesley succeeded Canning as Foreign Secretary.

Should anything occur to you worthy of my being informed of, I shall be very much obliged to you for it. I promise you I never quote your name, and if you wish your letters returned they shall be so. Pray remember us kindly to Lady Auckland and your family, and to Mrs. Moore when you see her, and Mrs. Shafto.

I am, my dear Lord, with much regard, your faithful servant,

WARREN BULKELEY.

P.S. Were you not sorry for the death of Henry Neville? I hope Lady — Hay has got some younger gentleman to walk with her from Mrs. Moore's than I was.

I hope Lord Grenville has no old latent weakness for the Wellesleys: *no Irishmen* are ever safe for a long run; they may *flash* for a moment.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Oct. 13th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—I am delighted to hear that you feel more favourably disposed to the great question respecting Ireland. Mere feelings of gratitude I do not count upon more than you do; but this measure would open a road for numerous means of connecting that people with its Government, all of which are now closed to us. With the extreme importance which I attach to the question, it would have been a breach of that plain dealing which I wish always to observe, if I had not adverted to that matter in my answer, forming as it does the principal and, as I believe, insuperable obstacle to my again holding any official situation. To have kept it quite out of sight would have been to deceive friends, enemies, and the public. I was prepared for the use which would be made of it, and am truly indifferent to it.

I have heard nothing from Canning in the way of

junction, nor do I feel it possible by any political compromise to seal my own mouth up on the subject of Antwerp, Spain, and America, from which, especially from the latter, Canning cannot extricate himself.

As to bringing forward or keeping back the Irish Catholic question, that no more depends upon me than to keep the wind in any quarter that I should prefer.

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Oct. 18th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—We shall have great pleasure in receiving you here at the time you mention. I will write to Tierney to ask him to meet you here. The enclosure you had the goodness to send me is very interesting, and affords much ground for speculating on what is likely to arise out of this chaos.

The Duke of Portland is given over; and, strange to say, I find by an extract I had communicated to me this morning of a private letter, certainly not meant for my perusal, that my succeeding him at Oxford is still considered there as not out of the question.

There are many considerations which lead me to attach to such an object more than perhaps its real value, though I have not sacrificed to that, any more than to much more important interests, the deep-rooted opinions I entertain on certain measures not very agreeable (as I well know) to that learned body.

I do not yet know whether my friends will think it prudent that I should let my name be brought forward on this occasion; but if I did, it would be of real political importance that I should not be defeated, or at least not in any marked manner.

I do not know whether you have preserved much

of Oxford connection, but I do know that on this, as on all other subjects, your activity and judgment would be invaluable.

When I hear more I will let you know it; perhaps that will not be till we meet.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

P.S. I imagine the House of Blenheim would still have its weight at Oxford; though not what, under other circumstances, it might have been.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, Oct. 25th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—I have to thank you for your very kind letters of the 10th and 19th Oct., and for the finance statement which you sent on the 15th.

It gave me the greatest pleasure to find that you approved of the decision taken by Lord Grenville and myself with respect to the proposition made to us by Mr. Perceval. I have, indeed, had the satisfaction of finding it universally approved by our friends, and have reason to believe that even amongst those who do not profess to be so, it has been very generally felt that such a proposal could admit of no other result.

My opinion was, from the beginning, that upon the failure of this overture the remnant of the ministry would find themselves compelled, both by the circumstances in which they are placed, and by the instances of the King, to try some other arrangement, however unpromising the means of forming or supporting it might appear. But, I confess, I had no idea that they could submit to the degradation of continuing to solicit for so long a time, without success, persons to occupy the vacant places, or that they could have the courage or the wickedness—which should we call it?—to keep the Government at such

a crisis in the state in which it now has been for so many weeks. How long the country will suffer itself to be made the sport of these vile intrigues, I will not pretend to determine; but I am sure that things cannot go on much longer in their present course, without certain ruin.

The information you have been so good as to communicate to me confidentially—and you may depend on my strictly regarding it as being given under that sanction—is very interesting. I had heard that a proposal had been made to Bragge and Hobhouse, even before the overture to Lord Grenville and me, but your account must be the most correct; and as it is, it is extraordinary enough that such an attempt should have been made through Lord Sidmouth, without, as I understand you, any desire being expressed that he should take a part in the Government himself.

The folly of the belief expressed in many of the papers, of a renewal of the Austrian war, appeared to me as great as the absurdity of wishing it; for what consequence could have resulted from it but that of a more complete destruction of that power, of which we must now say, unfortunately with more truth than Burke said of the French at the beginning of the revolution, *olim bello floruisse audivimus*. The result has been such as all reasonable men must have expected; and when the terms of the arrangement, which has been so long depending, are known, I have no doubt it will be found that Bonaparte has taken care to secure himself completely from being interrupted in his schemes against this country by any power on the continent. It really makes one shudder to think in what a state we are now to meet the storm that is collecting round us from all quarters.

I certainly shall be in town a week or two before the meeting of Parliament. Sooner than that I do not see that I can be wanted, and I may as well enjoy my comforts here as long as I can.

I am ever, with great regard, my dear Lord,
yours most truly,

GREY.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, Saturday, Nov. 11th.

My dear Lord,—I have no objection to see Lord Grenville Chancellor of Oxford University. On the contrary, I shall be amused, and think it but fair that, whilst the Chancellor* of one University is printing and publishing a mutilated and Socinian edition of the New Testament, tending to overturn the *ecclesiastical* establishment of the country, the sister Protestant University should elect a Chancellor who is desirous to open the possession of all offices to Roman Catholics, and every species of sectarians, who have once, and are full as ready as ever to overturn the *civil* establishment of the nation. To me, this is entertaining, and amongst the strange phenomena of the times!

I am sorry to have just finished reading Van Mildert's sermons, as I never met with any work on these subjects which contained so much entertainment and instruction. It is a history of *infidelity*, from *Cain* to *Gibbon*.

If Lord Carrington takes in "The Gentleman's Magazine" (and if not, it is worth your looking into, when you meet with it), you will find a curious historical account of *the year* of jubilee of Edward III., which fully justifies the late celebration of the 25th October. *I* am now more than halfway through *my year* of jubilee, as on the 10th of next May I shall have been fifty years in the House of Commons; within which time, I suppose, nine-tenths of the present members *have been born*.

We were reading last night Izaak Walton's life of Sir Henry Wotton. He, you know, had been several years a foreign minister, and engaged in much trouble-

* The Duke of Grafton.

some employment. He was appointed Provost of Eton College, and thus expresses himself: "After a kind of tempestuous life, I have received this advantage from my God, that I daily magnify Him, for this particular mercy to me, of *an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance*, even in this part of my life, when age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity." The similarity of these sentiments and situation with my own struck me very much.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Dec. 15th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—I was waked this morning at two o'clock (or rather called up, for I was already waked by the most furious storm I ever heard), to receive the agreeable intelligence of success.* I had nearly despaired of it, for all my letters received yesterday morning from Oxford were of the most desponding sort. I immediately despatched my brother's groom, who was in waiting here, to carry the news to town, and I begged him to lose no time in forwarding to you an account which I knew would be so gratifying to you. It is indeed a very great triumph, and rendered still more gratifying to me by the testimonies it has called forth of a zeal and warmth of friendship truly gratifying to me.

We may now begin to think and talk of other subjects. But while others were doing so much for me, the least I could do was to devote my own time and thoughts and exertions unbrokenly to the same object.

* The numbers were: for Lord Grenville, 406; Lord Eldon, 393; the Duke of Beaufort, 238.

I can hardly believe the report of Canning's return to office. I hear from good authority that he is dejected beyond measure, and seems deeply sensible of the unfavourable impressions his conduct and still more his defences of it have produced.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

Clifton, Dec. 17th, 1809.

My dear Father,— I very sincerely congratulate you upon our Oxford triumph, which was as complete as possible. Our fears had grown to a great pitch, and the confidence and insolence of our opponents were proportionably high. All their letters were written; Lord Eldon's name was put first; the numbers only were wanted, and the expresses were ready to set off; a King's messenger was waiting to carry the happy news to Windsor. Sir William Scott was standing at the door of the Convocation House; and their only study seemed to be, how their victory might be soonest made known to the world. The candidates were at first mentioned in their respective ranks, as standing for the University, and of course the Chancellor was named first, which helped to confirm their expectations; but, when the Proctor went on with, "*e quibus honoratissimus dominus Baro de Grenville suffragia obtinuit 406,*" there was positively an hysterical scream of joy and sorrow from the different parties.

I was there with the Dean* and the two Miss Byngs; he could not help showing his joy, but they were quite out of their senses. I do not think that people saved from a shipwreck could have been more happy than our whole party was. Mr. Wickham had a greater fright than most of us. The first messenger who came to him had only heard the candidates nominated, and told him that Lord Eldon was elected; the

* Dr. Hall.

two next were so much out of breath that they could not speak a word, and he was obliged to wait for a fourth.

I am, your very affectionate son,
G. EDEN.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Englefield Green, Christmas Day, Dec. 25th, 1809.

My dear Lord, — I am so afraid lest some of our friends in the opposition should run wild upon the late triumph at Oxford, and fancy that it is and will be decisive throughout the kingdom of a complete change of opinion about the Catholic question, that, knowing as I do that you are in Lord Grenville's confidence—and I am very happy you are so—I do beg and beseech of you to take the matter as it really is, and to represent to Lord Grenville that the people of England are not yet ripe for the admission of Catholic emancipation; and that I am sure half the clergy who voted for Lord Grenville to be Chancellor of Oxford, would join again in a "No Popery" cry, provided the King and Perceval chose to set it up again on a fresh dissolution. I judge thoroughly from five votes I sent to Lord Grenville, who, all but one, who is a friend to Catholic emancipation, would have voted for Lord Eldon or the Duke of Beaufort, had I requested them so to do.

All I want is, that the matter should be considered in its true light, as a great triumph, which it certainly is, in favour of a persecuted great and good man; but by no means what the opposition papers and many of the opposition consider it, as conclusive on the Catholic emancipation question. As I am not in the habit of talking or being talked to by Lord Grenville on matters confidential, I take this liberty in troubling your Lordship, because I am really anxious that Lord Grenville should know the thing as it is, and not be urged on out of his depth on a question which has cost him and his friends very dear, however right he

may have been in the original policy and principle, and in the honesty with which he adhered to an opinion formed on the most deliberate reflection at that time. I hear *The Fountain Head* is confounded angry at the Oxford defeat of his favourite, and the Duke of Cumberland very openly holds language in the streets of Windsor, of vulgar abuse and threatenings, which would better suit the combating Irish labourers of St. Giles's. The Windsorians hunt in full cry with the Duke of Cumberland, so I keep aloof, as they are so very sore and snappish, and disagreeable.

They are confounded sore at the least joke or inuendo about the Marquis W——s, *menus plaisirs*; as the King some little time ago said of him publicly at Windsor, "that he was, except Lord T——, the most wicked, profligate man in his kingdom." "*Altri tempi altri cure*," says the old Italian proverb.

Don't trouble yourself to answer this letter, but I own I am anxious Lord Grenville should know the real truth about the state of men's minds; for, having the King so decidedly against him, it is of consequence to him to keep as well with the public as he can, especially when the ministers have so cruelly misused the country.

In short, if Lords Grey and Ponsonby are not reasonable when the Parliament meets, I foresee the fatal consequences to Lord Grenville and to your Lordship, and to all his friends; but in saying this I beg not to derogate from the full merit of the Oxford victory, I only say it is not indicative of such a change in the opinion of the clergy or the public as to induce Lord Grenville to push the Catholic question *now, à toute outrance*.

My dear Lord, your ever faithful servant,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Englefield Green, Sunday Night, Jan. 14th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—During last Monday at the Duke of Gloucester's, at Bagshot Park, I sat by Mr. Ley-

cester, elder brother to Hugh Leycester, M.P., the Welsh judge, a violent Percevallian and anti-Grenville politician, and he told me, that, to his positive knowledge "the King had said not long ago that he had borne many indignities, and most disagreeable things during his life with fortitude, but that, if Lord Grenville was again forced upon him, he thought his nerves were not equal to such an endurance." This I guess had been told him by the judge, and he had it either from Mr. Perceval or Lord Eldon, if it was not a fabrication of their own; but such as I had it so you have it.

Frequent meetings have been had at Sunninghill, near me here, at the house of a Mrs. — there, a lady of a strange character, though rather ancient, but a very busybody, an *esprit remuant* between the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Eldon, which last always comes in a hack chaise. And these conferences last two or three or four hours; and the Duke then goes to Windsor, and Lord Eldon sometimes stays at Mrs. —, and sometimes goes on to Sir William Scott's. But why all this mystery I cannot make out; for there is nothing to prevent a meeting at Windsor that I know of, or either or both seeing the King; but so it is, you may be assured. My anxiety is great that Lord Grenville should not be bit by George Ponsonby, or Grattan, or Lord Holland, to run mad again on the Catholic question; for, however necessary or politic it may be, still the King, Eldon, and Perceval are all mad and enthusiastic on that question; at least, they act it for their own purposes, and the mass of the people of England go with them;—unless the King was to change his opinion, and then, I think, they would change with him; and I cannot think it necessary for Lord Grenville to pledge himself to go all lengths, or an inch more than he has already done. Excuse all this; but I now write because I don't mean to trouble you with an answer, as I fix in town on Tuesday for good, and shall of course be very busy the three or four first days, and not able to call on

you; but this I know, that, if Lord Grenville and Lord Grey reason with you, we have, as a party, a better chance of doing right than if they are influenced by some impetuous rash men; and we must, if possible, get into a good train and save the country, which, God knows, is in most imminent peril from the machinations of Bonaparte, at home and abroad, and the councils of journeymen, when master-workmen are put on the shelf. Our best regards attend Lady Auckland and yourself, and we hope your daughters are recovering.

I am, my dear Lord, your faithful servant,
WARREN-BULKELEY.

P.S. I fancy you will see Perceval will grant everything to Burdett and that party, as he did last year, with the view of setting them on Lord Grenville, and placing him between two fires—the King and the mob; but that won't do, if there is good management, and Whitbread persuaded to steer a right course.

I hear the Oxford delegates were pleased with Lord Grenville's speech, and I am glad of it. I hear of some shy-cocks in the Commons, to Perceval's allures; but I want to see them vote, and then I can guess better.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Jan. 25th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I have deferred answering your letter in the hope, which I could not help indulging, that something would occur to relieve your mind* from its present anxiety and distress. I can now only assure you—for that is, in such a situation, the only office of a friend—that it is not possible to participate more sincerely or feelingly than I do in the heavy affliction under which you are labouring, and

* Mr. William Eden had been missing since Friday, January 19th. His body was found in the Thames, February 25th.

that nothing could give me a greater pleasure than to hear—which I trust is still not wholly to be despaired of—that any part of it was alleviated to you.

Lady Grenville, who joins in these sentiments, desires also to express with me our anxiety for Lady Auckland.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly and faithfully yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lady Glenbervie to Lady Auckland.

Bath, January 26th, 1810.

My dearest Eleanor,—I do not know how to write to you, and yet I cannot help it. You know how sincerely and affectionately I have ever loved your dear son. It was impossible to do otherwise from the long and intimate acquaintance I had with his uncommon and amiable qualities; and therefore you may believe I want comfort more than I can give it. But I derive some in telling you how deeply my heart sympathises in your distress; and perhaps you may feel some little consolation in hearing from your earliest friend the dictates of a real sorrow, which has overwhelmed my mind more than I ever experienced before from any event out of my own family. God bless and support you.

Your most affectionate,

K. A. GLENBERVIE.

P.S. Do not think of answering this letter. I shall be in London on Monday se'nnight for a few days; and if you like to see me, let one of your daughters tell me so, and I will be with you some morning for an hour or two.

Lord Auckland to Lord Chichester.

Eden Farm, January 27th, 1810.

My dear Lord Chichester,—I cannot too warmly thank you for doing everything possible to aid and extend our inquiries. These inquiries have been extended in every mode and direction, but no information whatever has been obtained subsequent to the period of his going out at eight o'clock on Friday. He had informed me in one of his letters in the beginning of the week, that he must stay to go out with his corps (which he did) on the birthday (Thursday), and to settle, as he had always done at that period, that annual account. He had meant to come to us to a five o'clock dinner on Friday; but finding the weather bad, and learning that we were to be in town on the following morning, he said that he would put it off, in order to accompany us the next day in our carriage, and for his servant (whom he told accordingly) to go on our coach-box. At half-past five he went to his adjutant to examine the vouchers, and returned from that business at half-past seven to tea—and certainly with impressions of satisfaction (so far as so small a business deserved a thought) that he had disposed of a tiresome detail. He had received the balance (600*l*.) in the morning, and had carried the amount to Drummond's, and had opened a military account for it in his own name.

We have opened all his desks and papers. We found the whole in that sort of unfinished arrangement to which he was always accustomed, and which best shows that everything was going forward precisely as usual—bills recently paid at this season; his banker's account from day to day in his own handwriting for eight years; the balance due to himself, including a small draft on the 17th of 15*l*. for pocket-money. I give you all these small details—and it is the first time I have been able to bring myself to write them—to show that every particular expels any

idea of self-violence, and would expel it even if the character and circumstances of the individual had been the reverse of what they were. I need not describe what that character was. You well knew him to possess a mind singularly cheerful, steady, and resolute and well regulated; religious, moral, generous; most kind and most affectionate. Add to these qualities that he evidently enjoyed his existence beyond any individual whom we know; that he felt himself beloved and respected by a large circle of excellent friends; that he was in the course and earnestness of occupations which amused and interested him; and in the possession and fair prospect of every advantage that life can give—I cannot pursue this further, but every friend that he had must wish to protect his memory.

I am, &c.

AUCKLAND.

Lord Chichester to Lord Auckland.

Stratton Street, Jan. 28th, 1810.

My dear Lord Auckland,— Your letter has greatly relieved my mind by enabling me to write to you. I wished to do so, and sometimes thought that I ought to do so; I was afraid that the arrival of a letter from me during the agonising and unparalleled state of uncertainty you were in, might for a moment raise expectations and hopes that might in their consequent disappointment aggravate your sufferings.

I am glad to find that your own sentiments and the facts stated in your letter, confirm the opinion I have always entertained, that if there was an act of violence it was not given by his own hand. I can as little account for this most extraordinary visitation of Providence as any other person; but it is clear to me that no one circumstance hitherto discovered is reconcilable with the idea of self-destruction.

A submission to the will of Providence is our duty,

God grant us ability to bear it with the feelings we ought.

Pardon me, my dear Lord, for talking to you of my feelings upon such a subject; but when I recollect the many days of true joy and happiness I have passed at Eden Farm, when I reflect upon the unexampled felicity of your family, the enviable intimacy that subsisted between you and poor dear William, can I write upon this woeful subject without emotion? To say that I liked his society, that I admired his talents and respected his virtues, would be only to repeat what I am sure all that knew him must have said already: I really loved him.

I wish it were in my power to lessen the bitterness of your sufferings by sharing them with you; that can not be expected; but if ever you should feel that it might be any satisfaction to you to see and converse with a person who is attached to your family, and valued your inestimable son, be assured that I shall be ready at the shortest notice to come to you: but upon the same principle which prevented me from writing to you, I will not run the risk of disturbing you until I know your wishes.

Lady Chichester is deeply affected, and partakes of all my feelings.

Ever most affectionately yours,

CHICHESTER.

Lord Auckland to Sir Vicary Gibbs.

Eden Farm, January 30th, 1810.

My dear Sir Vicary, — This letter will raise in your mind a painful recollection of the happiness which you have so often seen in this family, and which was so long bestowed upon us, to a degree perhaps unexampled. It is now the will of Providence to make us “acquainted with sorrows” in their bitterest quality, and by a sudden visitation to deprive us of one who was the friend and favourite of every individual among us. Indeed, he was so

identified with Lady Auckland and with me, by his entire unreserve and cheerful tenderness respecting us, that he seemed to be an essential part of our existence. You will know how to excuse these expressions of my feelings; I will now proceed to the point which subjects you to this interruption.

We continue without any certainty; but our minds are broken down to the belief that some fatal event has taken place. It seems proper, therefore, that something should be said to Mr. Perceval on the Exchequer business. Mr. George Eden, under the appointment made by his brother, is (I conceive) legally competent to execute the duties of the office under present circumstances, and will of course continue to act until his responsibility shall cease, either by the event being ascertained, or by any measure which his Majesty's Government may adopt. Will you have the goodness to make this communication to Mr. Perceval. I would have addressed it to him, if I had not supposed that he might prefer receiving it through the hands of a mutual friend.

I take the occasion to advert to a small circumstance. Mr. Eden, soon after succeeding to the office, appointed his brother to the deputyship. His generous temper at the same time induced him to allow from the deputyship to Mr. Price (who had been Lord Thurlow's deputy) the annual sum of £600 until that gentleman should be otherwise provided for, and it has been regularly paid. It may be serviceable to Mr. Price, and is therefore due to him, that this circumstance should be known.

Lady Auckland suffers, as may be supposed, but her health does not seem to be impaired.

I am, &c.

AUCKLAND.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Monday Night, Feb. 5th, 1810.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I had some conversation with Lord Grenville, whose manner expressed everything that you could either wish or expect. He was anxious to know how far he might venture with respect to any communications upon subjects of business. I cannot say that I discouraged him, because I am anxious to see your mind occasionally relieved from these distressing reflections, which must eventually be aggravated by the want of occupation.

Lord Wellesley spoke to me respecting poor William with great feeling, and said, that in his opinion (though it was an opinion which for obvious reasons he gave in confidence), the King ought to be advised immediately to give the office of teller to your second son (George), and that he had no hesitation in saying, that if he was in a situation to make the recommendation, he should not hesitate for one moment. I replied, that I was most happy to hear him say so, but that under present circumstances whatever possible disposition might be felt I apprehended nothing could be done.

Lord Sidmouth came up during the conversation, when the same sentiment was repeated, to which Lord Sidmouth observed, that he should envy the man who might have the credit of doing an act in every respect so fit and just.

You will attach whatever importance you may think proper to these opinions, but it is at all events right that you should be acquainted with them.

I have heard no news of my friend.

Ever my dear Lord Auckland, yours, most affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Feb. 9th, 1810.

My dear Lord,— Lord Bathurst brought us down yesterday the Custom-house returns of exports and imports, and made, in imitation of Rose, a great vapour about the increase of trade, from which he drew a number of inferences in favour of their schemes of commercial policy. I made the obvious answers: First. That it would be time enough to draw conclusions when the papers were printed, and when consequently we might see in what the increase consisted of. Secondly. That, as far as related to the American trade, all they could show would be that which we had always said, viz.: that as long as their orders continued, that trade would continue to decrease, and that with their abolition it had again revived. I promised, however, to return to the subject as soon as might be convenient after the papers should be printed, and I gave notice also of moving for accounts of bullion exported, &c.

If the papers are not sent to you I will forward them to you. Of course you will give such attention only to them as you find easy and satisfactory to yourself, and will answer them only when your mind is enough at ease to be able to occupy itself with such matters. The employing yourself in them may, if you can bring yourself to it, be of use to you.

Lord Mulgrave and his Admiralty came to great disgrace last night. Dundas's speech was very hostile to them, and Mulgrave and Liverpool as feeble as their cause.

But all this is of no real consequence. All depends on what is passing in the House of Commons. If the Government can succeed in dragging that business* on till the public attention flags, they have nothing else to fear from other subjects to which the public will not attend. But with tolerable good conduct in

* The Walcheren Inquiry.

the House of Commons on the part of those who manage the inquiry, neither the planners nor the executants of that expedition can possibly escape a severe censure.

Do not answer this if it is troublesome to you.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Feb. 19th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I return you the papers I received from you yesterday. I cannot see any solution to the difficulties respecting the tellership* and the seat in Parliament but by an act of Parliament to meet the particular case.

There cannot be two opinions as to the right mode of filling up the office, considering that it was granted as the well-earned reward of your public services. Whether it will be seen in this light by Perceval, I know not. He is, I understand, a liberal-minded man, but the peculiar circumstances of his own situation, and that of his family, may possibly warp his better judgment.

The general opinion seems to be, that Government cannot get out of this Walcheren inquiry without some strong censure. But after what we have seen the House of Commons do during the last three years, I do not feel very confident of this. The case is certainly come out stronger than I expected against them. It is manifest that they have acted in opposition to the judgment of every military person whom they themselves consulted, and in direct contradiction to the plainest dictates of common sense. Add to this the cold and unfeeling neglect of the army from the end of August to December, and a stronger case can hardly be supposed.

Their defence must be to attack the general and

* This tellership had been held by Lord Auckland's son since the 12th of September, 1806, but Lord Auckland's own diplomatic pension had been suspended during that time.

admiral. What they will make of this I know not, but it will hardly be enough to justify themselves, though it may possibly involve Lord Chatham in no small degree.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

P.S. Lady Grenville begs to be most kindly remembered to Lady Auckland. It will give us the greatest pleasure to hear favourable accounts both of her and of yourself.

Lord Henley to Lord Auckland.

Brooke's, Midnight.

As it is possible that the post may leave town to-morrow before the papers are published, I send you this to inform you that a large party is just arrived in great triumph from the House of Commons, with the news of their having carried, by a majority of 7—178 against 171, the motion* for an address to the King for the communication of any other papers, besides the narrative that Lord Chatham *may have* delivered to his Majesty. They are high in their praises of a speech of Sir Home Popham. It is melancholy for the King that his writing-desk cannot be protected by his ministers.

Whitbread concluded his speech to-night, by saying that he "had heard of a cabinet dinner; but as to supper, let them to it with what appetite they may."

HENLEY.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Feb. 26th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I learnt, in the course of yesterday morning, the information of which you speak. Melancholy as it is, yet, in a case where so little room

* Of Mr. Whitbread.

for hope remained, it is, I trust, likely to be better for yourself and Lady Auckland that you should, even in this manner, be relieved from the suspense. The certainty of the misfortune will enable you better to apply yourselves to those means of resignation and fortitude which you both possess. I cannot help indulging the hope that such steps will now be taken as may alleviate one* part, though to your feelings the least distressing, of this calamity. This, however, a few hours must now ascertain, and I wait the result with much anxiety.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, March 6th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—The result of last night's division† must surely put totally out of the question all idea of the continuance of this Government. Our friends say that they were strong enough to have carried the original motion, but I very much approve the show of temper and moderation in adopting the amendments suggested.

My own opinion is that they have already notified to the King the necessity of their retiring as soon as the inquiry is over, but that they are determined not to lose the sort of protection, such as it is, which they will derive from being actually in office when that matter is to be finally decided on by the House.

I understand some of the Duke of Marlborough's friends voted last night.

Ever, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

* The tellership was given by Mr. Perceval to Mr. Charles Yorke.

† In the House of Commons a vote of censure on Lord Chatham was carried.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, March 8th.

My dear Lord,—I had the mortification this morning to find in my drawer the enclosed, which I wrote and thought I had sent on Tuesday. It is hardly worth sending now.

I believe it is certainly true that Lord Chatham resigned* yesterday. The account was sent to me yesterday evening; and it came originally from General Grosvenor†, who you know has been Lord Chatham's cabinet councillor in this whole business.

I really despair so much of anything which can bear the name of a strong Government being established against the intrigues of the Court, that, although I co-operate most heartily in everything that can deliver us from this set, I can hardly bring myself to wish for the success of our cause.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Camelford House, March 24th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I have received from a quarter which I cannot disbelieve the information that I am, in the course of next week, or early in that which will follow, to receive a communication on the subject of forming a new Government. Although I had before too much reason to expect such an event, yet the now almost certainty of its near approach fills me with uneasiness which I cannot describe, and which many would believe to be affected. You know it is not so.

I am, in these circumstances, very anxious to have some conversation with you, and I would drive down

* The Master-Generalship of the Ordnance.

† Afterwards Field-Marshal.

to you so as to be with you between one and two on Monday, if I was sure it would not be troublesome to you to receive me.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Portman Square, June 27th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I received your letter yesterday with great pleasure, and with an adequate sense of your kindness. I have not written to you, being fearful that I might, by doing so, only add to your distress; but I have informed myself of you constantly from others; and it is now a great satisfaction to me to know that you are able to make those exertions which, however difficult, are necessary, equally to the relief of your own mind, and for the support of Lady Auckland and your family, under the horrible affliction which you have suffered.

The course of politics has indeed been most disgusting, so much so that I leave town with a greater repugnance than ever to return to them. But I shall not be wanting to my friends, to my family, or to my country, whenever an occasion presents itself in which I can hope to be useful; and though no such prospect now offers itself to my view, I will not allow myself to despond.

I made the motion, of which you speak, in the hope that it might be useful in checking the tide of fury and of nonsense by which the good sense of the public seems in danger of being overwhelmed. Whether it will have any effect in that way remains to be seen. I fear not much; certainly none, if it depends on my publishing my speech, which, on many accounts, it is impossible for me to do. Of course you will understand from this that the speech, which I see is advertised, is without any authority from me.

I would have gone to Oxford to attend Lord Gren-

ville, if possible; but I have already delayed my journey too long, and I must trust that he will excuse me, as it is absolutely necessary that I should not delay my journey beyond the day at present fixed for it, Friday.

I shall be extremely obliged to you for any communication you may think of sufficient importance to induce you to the trouble of writing; and I shall always be most happy to hear that you are well.

I am, my dear Lord, yours very faithfully,

GREY.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, Aug. 22nd, 1810.

My dear Lord, — The papers have informed me of your new affliction.* I am still afraid of intruding on you in your distress; but I cannot, even at this risk, any longer delay expressing my sorrow for the loss you have sustained, and my anxiety to hear that you and Lady Auckland find, where alone they are to be found, the fortitude and resignation necessary to support you under such heavy visitations. I would not, however, on any account, have you think yourself under any obligation to answer this letter at a moment when it may be painful to you to do so, though I cannot suppress my wish to hear that you are well, whenever you may feel yourself able to write, or can find anybody that would favour me with a single line for that purpose.

I will not trouble you further at this moment than to beg you to be assured of the sincere regard with which I am, my dear Lord,

Ever yours most faithfully,

GREY.

* The death of Mrs. Vansittart.

CHAP. L.

Illness of the King. — Meeting of Parliament. — Hopes and Fears of the Opposition. — The Prince becomes Regent, and abandons his "Old Friends." — Lord Moira's Defence of the Prince's Conduct. — Lord Grey has, and Lord Grenville has not, Confidence in the Prince. — The Prince does not appreciate Lord Grenville's Conversation. — The Prince becomes Regent without Restrictions. — Lords Grenville and Grey refuse to coalesce with Mr. Perceval. — Assassination of Mr. Perceval. — The Moira Negotiation. — Its Failure. — Letter of Lord Carlisle. — Comment on it by Lord Grenville. — Lord Bulkeley's Despair.

THE King's illness in November necessitated the formation of a Regency.

The hopes of the opposition were as high as in 1788; but they were not realised, for the first act of the Prince Regent, after his accession, was to give his confidence to the ministry he was expected to overthrow.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Nov. 1st, 1810.

My dear Lord, — You will have heard of the strange circumstance of the meeting of Parliament this day.* It is a scandalous omission in the ministers to have given no notice of it, informed, as they have been for a week past, of this necessity. In 1788, when Parliament met under similar circumstances, Pitt wrote circular letters to everybody, to give notice of it.

The adjournment for a fortnight, which I understand is to be moved, will, of course, be unopposed; and the consequence will be, that instead of enjoying

* Parliament met, and was adjourned until the 15th of November. Ministers had intended to prorogue it until the 29th, but the illness of the King prevented his signature to the proclamation.

here, as you had allowed us to hope, the pleasure of your society, I must be at that very time in town, immersed in everything that I most dislike.

My present plan is, to go there on the 8th, and fix myself there till after the 14th. The result of that day must decide whether I can get back again, as I hope, immediately. As yet I hear nothing of what is to be proposed.

The Prince of Wales is, I understand, at Windsor. The Chancellor and Perceval could not see the King; they went to the Prince. There is a ridiculous story of Wellesley's attempting to see the Queen, which I hope, for his sake, is not true.

Should I get back here, we shall still hope to see you, though at a later time.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

Bamhill, Wednesday, Nov. 7th, 1810.

My dear Lord, — I have forborne writing to you, as I knew your mind could be little disposed to be broke in upon; but the present moment is so very critical, that I cannot help trespassing upon you for a moment, as you, no doubt, are in the habit of personally communicating with Lord Grenville. I take the liberty of saying things to you that I cannot say to him, because, though you both live retired, yourself, from painful necessity, and he from choice, still I am sure you know what is passing in the world more than he does. I have only to assure you, from accurate observation, that the personal popularity of the King is as great as it possibly can be; and if anything had been wanting to add to that popularity, the circumstance of his owing his present *malady* to his parental feelings for his daughter*, has given the

* The Princess Amelia.

people a still greater veneration and affection for him than they had before.

I mention all this to show you the necessity of great caution in the line Lord Grenville is to pursue whenever the Parliament meets, and of having due regard to the feelings and pulse of the people out of doors. The

“Manet altâ mente repostum
Judicium Paridis spreteque injuria formæ.”

and all the ill-usage Lord Grenville received from the King must be qualified under what Mr. Pitt used to call existing circumstances, or he will injure himself out of doors, depend on it; nor must he show any anxiety for power or office till he can see daylight. I shall thank you to ask Lord Grenville to take my proxy; and if he cannot take it, I shall be glad to give it to yourself or the Marquis of Buckingham, and you will please to let me know which.

I suppose, in the case of the King's not recovering before the 15th, either that there will be a short adjournment of a week or ten days, or that the Parliament will appoint a Regency; and I shall be much obliged to you to let me know what are the notions about the persons to be appointed. I don't ask for secrets, but the common notions of what you hear. Will the Prince be appointed alone, or coupled with the Queen, the Duke of York, and perhaps the Duke of Cumberland? If appointed alone, will he keep the present ministry quite whole—entire? or will he keep only the Wellesleys, and dismiss Lord Eldon and Perceval? or will he give his fair *bonâ-fide* confidence to Lord Grenville? Sheridan, I see, took a lead in the House the other day; and I suppose he had his cue from Carlton House, as he has the *entrée* there at all times. A coalition between Perceval and Sheridan would be comical.

Now, my dear Lord, pray excuse my jargon, “over the hills and far away;” but if you favour me with a line I shall be obliged to you; and I give you my

honour I will return your own letter back to you, and, except to my wife, I will not say I have heard from you. We have no news as yet from Portugal. We want a complete victory there; not a Talavera victory — glory without gaining an inch of ground. Lady Bulkeley joins me in best regards and wishes to yourself and Lady Auckland and family, and to Mrs. Moore, when you see her, and Mrs. Shafto.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Nov. 8th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for your extract, though my sagacity is a little in default as to its author. It is curious, because it exhibits another instance of the system of downright lying to which these people think themselves at liberty to resort, when they think that *good*, as they call it (that is, advantage to themselves), is to come of it.

I have accurate and certain account of all that passes at Windsor; and you may rely on it, that all the statements given on the subject by Government are absolutely false. There never has been any appearance or symptom of convalescence, never one moment's interval of reason. The raving has been more or less violent, as the strength has been more or less exhausted, and after many sleepless nights, one or two, at the most, better nights have been passed; but when the patient has woke, he has immediately betrayed again all the marks of a mind completely deranged.

You will not suppose that I listen to these accounts or credit them, because they accord with my wishes. I think I may truly say that there is but one individual in the kingdom—the Prince of Wales, who has more reason than myself to wish for a

speedy recovery. But such are the facts as stated to me from authority which I cannot but believe.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Bamhill, Monday Night, Nov. 12, 1810.

My dear Lord,—It is a great satisfaction to me that any opinions of mine, “over the hills and far away,” should so far deserve your notice as the immediate acknowledgment of them by your kind letter, which I think myself bound to return, that you might be satisfied I mean to make no improper use of your confidence; and I beg, at the same time, to express my kind thanks, and to assure you that, as no one knows of my writing to you, save my wife, so no one knows of my receiving your answer. But I am anxious that so good a man as Lord Grenville, who has been so cruelly hunted down by the Court and *Pitt's principles'-men*, should, in this very important crisis, act in such a manner as to conciliate and deserve public esteem; and I am sure it is to be done by great moderation and forbearance, and by showing no particular anxiety for office. If the ministers ask a further adjournment of a fortnight, I hope he will agree to it in the handsomest and most gentlemanlike manner; but after that I don't think the nation has a right to expect any more adjournments, except in the case of positive symptoms of convalescence, and then Lord Grenville must judge as he thinks most advisable for the interests of the public; and the same if, at the end of a fortnight, no signs at all should appear of convalescence.

I fear, however, with all my wishes for a prudent line of conduct, that Lord Grenville may be hurried and forced into difficulties by Whitbread and the lawyers, or perhaps by the Prince himself and the *cabinet* at Carlton House, to whom he must learn to be a better courtier than he was at St. James's. As to the general state of things, external and internal,

I agree with you, that ministers are not to be envied, for Bonaparte's projects in the north are most alarming, as he not only ruins and checks our commerce, but he will certainly succeed in getting a formidable navy and good seamen amongst the Dutch and Danes and Swedes and Baltic men. The Irish members of both houses are hurrying up to town, full of hopes and fears, and in great numbers; and Lord Grenville, if he should become Prime Minister, will have his share of *the brogue* and their objects.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Nov. 25, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I think there can be little doubt that a Regency must be established; and I should suppose that on Thursday notice will be given of the first steps for that purpose. My principal endeavour has been to prevent anybody pressing forward that which, when it comes, will come but too soon. After the experience of three recoveries, nothing can convince one that a fourth is not to be expected, so long as the bodily health can bear up against the disease and its remedies. And these uncertain speculations are enough to undermine all Government, in whatever hands it may be placed. I agree with you that the enormous amount of our foreign expenditure has a strong tendency rapidly to accelerate the mischief of the depreciation of our paper credit; but that such depreciation exists, I cannot allow myself to doubt. If it did not, the increased demand of gold for exportation would soon stop, by the operation of its increased price. I have got Bosanquet's pamphlet, but have not yet read it. Do you know him? Is he a man capable of throwing any light on the subject?

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

P.S. I go on Tuesday.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Thursday Evening.

My dear Lord, — I am obliged (retaining, as I really do, my opinion about proceeding by bill*) to avow that opinion and act upon it. But I have not the smallest wish to canvass for that opinion or make proselytes to it; nor, on the other hand, do I at all partake of the hopes or projects which some of my friends ground on the opposition which they feel themselves at liberty to give to that course of proceeding. I sensibly feel the kindness of your offer, but I should be sorry to avail myself of it, in any case, except where there was really some great object to be attained by putting you to that inconvenience, and in the present I see none.

I am afraid Mr. — will not find among my immediate connections that unanimity on this occasion which he is kind enough to wish to be included in.

Temple will take the same line as I do, both on my account and also because his father was openly committed to that line by what passed in Ireland. Chas. W. Wynne will probably vote for the address exactly for a similar reason, because *his* father did so twenty years ago, and because he knows that it is sincerely matter of indifference to me which way the question is carried. I wish Mr. — may be able to satisfy himself to support the proceedings by bill, because it may prevent the recurrence of difficulties like those to which your letter refers.

We go to Dropmore to-morrow. We would gladly have availed ourselves of yours and Lady Auckland's kind invitation; but I cannot refuse myself these few last days at Dropmore, not knowing when any more may occur.

You will hear that Perceval has written to the Prince to announce all the same restrictions as in

* The Opposition voted for proceeding by an address, but the ministers succeeded in following the precedent of 1788.

1788, but limited for a year, and with a power to make Lord Wellington an earl or a marquis, if he brings us over Massena a prisoner of war; that the Prince has written an angry answer, and last night summoned together all his brothers and the Duke of Gloucester; and that *all* !! signed a letter to Perceval, protesting against the proceeding as unconstitutional and dangerous.

What my own line on *that part* of the subject will be when it comes on in the House of Lords I have not finally determined; but though never very sanguine about majorities against Government, I really should not be surprised if, on this point, they should be defeated in the House of Commons.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Bamhill, Friday Night, Nov. 30th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—A word only with your obliging letter, returned to put it out of my power to abuse your confidence or quote your name. It seems very evident matters at Windsor are not going on well, though the physicians are quoted by the *gens de la cour* as being very sanguine; and I guess ministers will try to gain some more time, *per fas aut nefas*, before they propose any measures for a Regency.

I cannot see how they can impose any restrictions on the Prince in 1810, save as far as relates to the custody of the King's person, which ought, as you say, to be in the Queen. I hear he is very guarded, secret and *boutonné*; and, if he is so, he acts very prudently. We shall see what he will do in case he is appointed Regent. But this I know, that the present rulers are very sanguine in their hopes and expectations; and if they should be realised, we shall see Perceval and Sheridan hand and glove, which will be a

curious sight. I am sure of one thing, that there never was a time when high situations were less to be coveted and envied.

Yours, my dear Lord, truly,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, Wednesday, December 5th.

My dear Lord,—Sheridan* has, on former occasions, shown more sense and public spirit than some of his coadjutors. I suspect he has done so on the present conjuncture. A very little and short forbearance, on the part of his Royal Highness's advisers would have set *his* character, for filial piety and regard for the public tranquillity, so high, and gained him such a degree of popularity, that no party or power could have refused him that situation, with all those appendages, which will of course devolve upon him. But, alas! when the scent of *immediate* possession of power runs so high, it is, perhaps, impossible for politicians, who have been trained to the sport, and have so long, and so lately, tasted of the game, to forbear catching at the morsel, even *before* it is within their reach.

And, then!—the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex voting and *speaking* on a question in which their father's domestic comforts were so intimately connected! It is a discouraging prelude to future scenes, of which I shall (most fortunately, probably) not see any part.

We intend to go to town on this day se'nnight, the 12th, for a week; not to return from Northamptonshire till the 19th January.

Mrs. Barton unites in kind compliments.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

* Sheridan had acted against Lords Grenville and Grey.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Cotton Garden, Monday Evening, Dec 17th.

My dear Lord,—Lord P—— having, as I understood, rendered himself, by the residence, which the law requires, a perfect and complete *Scot*, his divorce, at the suit of his wife, for adultery becomes by the same law *perfectly legal*—as much so as Bothwell's, Duke Hamilton's, Lord John Campbell's, or any other that may have happened; and this, to *all* intents and purposes, and in *all* countries and climates — so that Lady P—— (that was) is now properly Duchess of A——, and Lady C. W—— is become the true Lady P——.

“GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY!—The Duke of A. to be husband to Lady P. *vice* Lord P. who *exchanges*.—Lady C. C. (late W.) to be wife of Lord P. *vice* Lady P. *promoted*.”

Can this state of things be permitted to continue? If it shall, *women* and *men* will be hawked about, and sold, and advertised, like racehorses, or Durham *cows* and *bulls*!

The accounts of the King to-day are *very much* better, but, at all events, they must now proceed to form a Regency.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, December 19th, 1810.

My dear Lord,—I was infinitely obliged to you for your kind letter of the 13th.

I had never any doubt, after their success in the two first adjournments, that the ministers would proceed in the course which you describe. In this course, however, but for causes into which it is unnecessary to enter, I do not think they could have been successful.

The difference of the King's age, and the still more

melancholy difference in the circumstances of the country, have induced them to form opinions very unlike those which prevailed in 1788; and I am thoroughly persuaded, from all I hear, and from persons of all descriptions, that the voice of the country is in favour of a Regency without restrictions.

Lord Grenville, and others of our friends, are too strongly implicated in the measures of that period to retrace their steps; and, however painful to me any difference may be with him or with them, I would be the last to counsel any conduct which should be fairly liable to the imputation of an interested change of opinion. But, if such a measure as you allude to is proposed, I cannot help thinking, not only that there would be no inconsistency, but that they would best discharge an imperative public duty in pursuing a different line of conduct—I mean the proposal for a concurrent vote of the two Houses, to authorise the Privy Seal to be put to an issue of money. Surely this is so flagrant an usurpation of one of the most important of the Royal functions, so dangerous itself as a precedent to the constitution, and so totally unsupported by any former precedent, that if, in the choice of two modes of proceeding, we find that one cannot be resorted to without a previous measure of such enormity, it ought not to leave the decision subject to a moment's doubt. When this, therefore, is considered, and when to this is added the alarming situation of the Government, suffering so much in all its parts from a continued suspension of the Royal authority, I cannot help hoping that a proposal for investing the Prince at once with the powers of the Regency (guarded as those powers might be by an accompanying resolution of both Houses against any abusive exercise till a bill or bills providing the necessary regulations, in this important and delicate case, should have passed a Parliament regularly constituted) would be very generally assented to.

Ever yours most truly,

GREY.

Lord Cholmondeley to Lord Auckland.*

Wednesday.

My dear Lord,—Most sincerely do I wish you and yours a happy new year; and at the same time I wish you joy at the event of last night†, which made me sleep much better, I have no doubt, than Perceval did.

Whoever in future is to manage our affairs is not to be envied. The task will be most arduous. The mania of the country to effect impossibilities, and the errors committed by a weak and incapable ministry, have brought the country in a sad state. I have no doubt we shall be victorious on Friday, from every account I have heard. I wish with all my heart we could have your Lordship's assistance.

In conversation yesterday with the Prince‡, he spoke of you and your family with that warmth of feeling which he possesses in so eminent a degree.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

CHOLMONDELEY.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Hamilton Place, January 8th, 10 P. M.

My dear Lord Auckland,—You will judge of the degree of credit to be given to the reports of the King; but I understand from some quarters, which I consider deserving of credit, that he is getting better, though not, perhaps, with the rapidity which those most interested would wish the public to believe.

The story of his playing upon the pianoforte is undoubtedly true, and, as it is productive of some amusement as well as occupation, it is looked upon as a good symptom.

* Father of the present Lord Cholmondeley.

† Ministers had been left in a minority.

‡ Lord Cholmondeley was the confidential friend of the Prince of Wales.

I have not heard what the Duke of Clarence says upon the subject, which I am sorry for, as he is not reckoned amongst the most surprised.

Affectionately yours,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Feb. 2nd, 1811.

My dear Lord,—For the last two days it has been tolerably evident that the Prince would not finally bring himself to make any change in the administration; but it was not till late last night that I had the satisfaction to receive the notification of his final resolution to keep the present ministers, in order not to risk the effect which their removal might produce upon the King's mind. To be sure, if he had known his own mind a little sooner, it might have saved us all some toil and trouble. But I am too grateful to him for the final result to quarrel about such trifles.

I am now a free man, and shall go to Dropmore as soon as the Council has been held for swearing him in. That Council I must attend, but I think it by no means necessary for you to give yourself so much gratuitous trouble.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Cotton Garden, Tuesday, February 5th.

My dear Lord,—The world has been greatly surprised with what has passed at Carlton House, and *we* (that is, *I*) are still ignorant whether the change has been owing to respect for the King, disagreement amongst the expecting ministers, or to secret advisers. However it may be, it will save running into a confusion, which a total change of administration at

this moment must have occasioned; and I trust it may *really* not be long before the King recovers.

The Speaker's speech* appears to have made as much of the argument (for proceeding by *bill*†) as well can be; but I am not yet satisfied in my own mind with even the two Houses of Parliament exercising powers, by the means of seals and instruments, belonging to other branches of the legislature.

I hope you and Lady Auckland will soon think of removing to town *for good*. We are to have an election to-morrow at *The Alfred*,—nine vacancies and 284 candidates!

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours truly,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, July 28th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—I return your inclosure. I sincerely lament that the writer has taken so very onerous a view of the subject of his speeches. That point, and the prosecution of the absurd plan of conquering the continent by an English army, are wide lines of distinction, because they apply to the two great political questions on which the Government must decide without an hour's delay, whenever we have anything like a Government in the country.

I have little doubt that the moment of that decision is fast approaching. It is, I believe, certainly true that the King has taken for the last three days scarcely any food at all, and that unless a change takes place very shortly in that respect he cannot survive many days. What a scene is then to follow, for which, after nine months' warning, things are, I

* On the 4th of February, in favour of the Government.

† The opinions, so ably expressed by Lord Loughborough in 1788, were entirely against this mode of dealing with the Regency question.

am confident, as little prepared now as in October last!

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Nocton, August 13th, 1811.

My dear Lord Auckland, — The Catholics seem to be desirous of bringing their affairs to a short issue. It would appear extremely unwise on their part, and I should hope would postpone the attainment of their object to a very distant period.

I cannot impute so much folly to ministers as to suppose they have authorised the Duke of Richmond to take such decided measures without the sanction of the Prince Regent; and if he has sanctioned them, he became committed in opposition to the sentiments of those who are supposed to be his friends. The truth is, that no man who administers the Government of this country, according to the spirit of the British constitution, can submit to be bullied by the Irish Papists; and whatever individuals may do, I trust we shall never see the Parliament so debased as to yield to their insolent demands. The King, I should suppose, is not likely to die soon; but I fear his mental recovery is hardly to be expected, and I should apprehend that we must look to much serious embarrassment. I am glad you are preparing for your journey, but wish you spoke with more confidence of yourself.

I think you will not find the charge for the first more than I should be disposed to pay, when it is convenient to you to send it. We set out in the morning for Yorkshire.

Yours affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Englefield Green, Wednesday Morning,
August 14th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—Of the King's mind there are no hopes, even at Windsor, but his body may last a great while. You see Ireland *is beginning only*; it is possible Pole may by vigorous measures and military assistance keep the Catholics down for a little time; but they will break out again when they can get supplied from France with money, and every other sort of assistance, and some of his (Bonaparte's) ships may elude our fleets and do infinite mischief. There is no chance I think of any change of ministry, for the present appear to me to gain every day on the Prince Regent; and he certainly means to stay to the last day of the restrictions before he shows what he means. You cannot be more low spirited than I am at the state of things; and the more so, as I despair of the public mind, which certainly has no leaning as yet to our friend Lord Grenville, notwithstanding all the evils that happen from what are called "Pitt's principles." Our joint best regards attend you and Lady Auckland.

I am, my dear Lord, very truly yours,
WARREN-BULKELEY.

P.S. I am told very many Irish soldiers occasionally desert to the French in Spain and Portugal, who will be useful allies to Bonaparte hereafter for some of his mischievous projects, if I was rightly informed.

I am going to Dropmore on Friday. Between you and me, I did not like Lord King's* business, and Lord Grenville's very warm support; for telling a dram-drinker he must drink water, won't do. The fact is, we have nothing but paper; and if that goes, we are completely gone, for the quantity of bullion is, I fear, very small in comparison.

* Lord King had desired his tenants to pay their rents in gold.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, August, 18th, 1811.

My dear Lord,— I believe the fact about the Irish business to be, that the Prince Regent sanctioned the proclamation* on the ground of having agreed to let the ministers go on in their own way, and *reserving to himself his own more tolerant principles and opinions.*

How far this excuse is dignified, constitutional or manly, and what credit or confidence such salvos will acquire to him or his Government, cannot, I suppose, be matter of question in the mind of any one person whose good opinion is worth cultivating. But how long it may be supported with the vulgar by newspaper puffing is quite another question.

For myself (and my friends too, for I should be ashamed to indulge a feeling merely personal on such subjects, but for all of us), I am persuaded that we have great reason to rejoice in an additional obstacle to our being called upon once more to undertake to serve the Crown, without possessing its confidence, and to act honourably on our side towards those who are hourly betraying us.

From such a situation no advantage either public or private can possibly result. We might be much embarrassed if such really were the situation of things, and yet if we could not make it manifest that it was so. But I am sure no good can really be done unless those who are called on to do it, are allowed to pursue their own course unfettered by anything at all resembling these proceedings.

I am, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

* Of the Irish Government, forbidding the meeting of delegates to discuss the Catholic question.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

Duncombe Park, August 21st, 1811.

My dear Lord Auckland, — Nothing certainly can be more satisfactory than the circumstances you had the goodness to communicate respecting George Eden.

In my opinion a connection with Lord Lansdowne* would be most desirable for him; it unites private and personal habits with public business, and promises as much comfort and advantage as anything which appears to me likely to present itself. If it be advisable for George to prefer the lottery of politics to whatever his chance may be at the bar, the judicious partiality of Lord Lansdowne holds out a prospect to which every consideration is due.

This place, if possible, is improved in beauty, since I was last here, and is altogether in my view superior to anything I know of in England, and does not require the state of preparation for admiring magnificent and romantic scenery which we bring out of Lincolnshire.†

I am, ever yours affectionately,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Lord Moira to Lord Auckland.

Donington, Sept. 11th, 1811.

My dear Lord, — I lament with you most deeply, what I observe of the course of politics. Our boast is that we stand our ground. But if two competitors are to strive for the same goal and one shall pride himself on remaining stationary, while the other is exerting every nerve to get forward, the lingerer must be supposed to have miscomprehended his object. Unfortunately, in the present case, the error

* As member for Calne; but Mr. George Eden, at the request of the Duke of Marlborough, became member for Woodstock.

† Nocton, Lord Buckinghamshire's seat in Lincolnshire, is now in the possession of his daughter by his first marriage, Lady Ripon.

is not indifferent ; for, the power which our antagonist acquires would be a nullity were it not to be employed in ruining us. All this is easier to perceive than to remedy. Let me honestly say that Lord Grenville's immediate connections have to charge themselves considerably with the present state of things. The subversion of our majority in the House, you must be sensible, was very wounding : still, that was got over. Then a tone so unconciliatory was used towards the Prince, as inevitably repelled his dispositions, and laid him open to the representations of those who insinuated that he would put himself into thralldom if he persevered in his original plan. To clinch the matter there came that impolitic opposition, by Lord Grenville's particular friends in the House of Commons, to the reappointment of the Duke of York. Can you wonder that a man should be estranged by procedures so calculated to revolt him ? I trust that all these impressions will be effaced ; but, in the mean time, you should advert to the share which yourselves have had in producing the continuance of the present ministry, and you should not fix upon the Prince an unqualified charge of inconsistency.

I am out of the way of much information here ; but if the facts which I have learned be correct, I should think Prussia and Russia have gone just far enough to have entailed upon themselves desperate mischief without a chance of giving even embarrassment to Napoleon. Their indirect preparations, which could not escape the vigilance of the French spies, exhibited a purpose such as an acute enemy was sure to anticipate. I expect to see Prussia destroyed immediately and utterly before Russia can stir. With regard to the latter, my supposition is that Napoleon, by creating a King of Poland, and thereby throwing the Russian part of Poland into immediate insurrection, will curse the Emperor Alexander with a wasteful war, while France will content herself to give such occasional and moderate support

to the contest as will little cramp her in the application of her force elsewhere.

I have the honour, my dear Lord, to remain, your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

MOIRA.

Lord Moira to Lord Auckland.

Donington, Sept. 20th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—If I do not misconstrue your last letter, it carries with it an implication as if I had some estrangement in regard to your friends. Be assured that nothing of the sort exists. No one has lamented more truly than I have done, impressions which were never avowed to me, but which I detected in various circumstances. If the allusion be not to me, and only bears on others who have been in the habit of confidential attachment to the Prince, I am convinced that you, equally, err in the supposition. The persons to whom I referred never have been devoted to the Prince, and only avail themselves of a temporary facility of intercourse to colour matters as may best suit their private views. My statement to you was not with the most distant wish of arraigning your friends: it was only to awaken your own sense of candour in judging the Prince; so as that you might not impute to deliberate plan what really arises in great measure from feelings which he has not scrutinised.

I have the honour, my dear Lord, to remain, your Lordship's very obedient and humble servant,

MOIRA.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Oct. 8th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—I had no doubt of the existence of the feelings you mention, and the circumstances

stated to you may, among many others, have contributed to them. I cannot regret the effect they are likely to produce; nothing could be more irksome than to be called upon to sacrifice one's happiness and risk one's character with so very little hope of doing any real good.

The report of the physicians is worded as foolishly as ever, but it can leave no ground of hope in the mind of any reasonable man.

The Chancellor said that he was going back to the cabinet, who were to decide upon it whether to meet Parliament in November or not. They will doubtless stave it off as long as they can.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

P.S. The King had a fresh *accession* on Saturday.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Bamhill, Anglesey, Wednesday Night, Oct. 9th.

My dear Lord,—Without asking for any secrets, pray give me a line about passing events, for I am “over the hills and far away,” and know nothing. One thing seems evident, that our friend of Dropmore has no chance of being our future pilot, and that the Prince Regent will proscribe him and Grey, the consequence of which will be that the system which has hitherto carried all before it will continue to do so, and that Parliament will become something like the old one of, and in, France, register to the edicts of the Crown and of “Pitt's principles.”

Our friends will get indifferent, finding the public equally so, which it certainly is, and I guess there will be a virtual secession. The present ministers will, I conclude, be adopted by the Prince Regent; but how they are to get over the numerous difficulties with which they are assailed, I have not an idea—all South America revolutionised, and North America will

soon declare against us and for the French. Ireland is another very difficult card to play, and so is Sicily and the Peninsula; in short, I see the plot thickening in every external quarter against us, and I dare say Bonaparte will march to Petersburg, while Alexander is doubting what part to act.

I hear Wellesley Pole is much vexed and mortified at his own unpopularity in Ireland; for the Catholics and their Protestant friends lay all on him and not on the Duke of Richmond, and his bed is not a bed of roses.

The Nottingham and Limerick militias have had a terrible fight in Dublin barracks, and many lives lost, and I should not be surprised if that pastime was only beginning and not ended. I have no faith in the Parliament meeting before Christmas; for, meet when it will, the Prince Regent will not find the Burdett party so quiet as they have hitherto been; and I dare say Mahon's place will be attacked by that party violently. My neighbours here in Wales think we are going on very well, and it is quite impossible to say a word in favour of Lord Grenville. I think it not at all unlikely that Perceval and Lord Wellesley will quarrel, and that the latter will become a great favourite at Carlton House. If Bonaparte lives he will run us very hard; for he keeps always going on in mischief and injury to this country and its commerce.

Among the strange things I have seen in politics, none will be stranger than Perceval and Lord Eldon and Lord Harrowby speaking in favour of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics; and I think I shall see it ere long, and so will you too. Adieu, my dear Lord. Be so good as to remember Lady Bulkeley and me most kindly to Lady Auckland and Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Shafto.

I am, your faithful servant,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, Nov. 17th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—I thank you very sincerely for your letter of the 10th, as well as for one which I received some time ago.

I believe we are all equally in the dark with respect to the secret springs of our domestic politics. I have uniformly disbelieved all the stories that have been in circulation of new arrangements, retaining a part of the present administration of Wellesley and Canning, &c. No one of these reports, with respect to the two last personages, appeared to come from very good authority.

On the contrary, I have continued to believe, and so I wrote to Lord Grenville some time ago, that the Prince still meditates a change which shall bring in his old friends. That such is still his intention I have no doubt, though it is very possible that the same causes which have so long delayed may ultimately prevent its execution altogether.

That the delay itself, and many of the things which have occurred during that delay, should have rendered many of our friends impatient, and some of them a little incautious in their language, is not to be wondered at. This, I know, has been complained of by the Prince, which is one of the circumstances on which I found the opinion I have expressed of his intentions; and I have endeavoured, whenever I have had the opportunity, to inculcate the policy, which in our situation is so obvious, of abstaining as much as possible from everything, both in conduct and in language, which might give offence. When the session opens the veil must be withdrawn. Then all the public interests, all of them, God knows, the subject of so much just anxiety, must come under discussion, and it will be impossible for the Prince any longer to defer deciding upon the policy which is in future to direct his councils.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, Nov. 23rd, 1811.

My dear Lord,—I will take an opportunity of writing to Grey. I quite differ from him in thinking that the Prince Regent has the smallest disposition towards what are called his old friends.

He has, I am confident, no plan of conduct whatever, but is governed from day to day by the two people* who have taken the direction of him, and besiege him day and night. Their object, of course, must be to prevent his falling into the hands of any body of men possessing any real strength of their own.

Were it otherwise, the difficulties on all sides are such that I confess I should most unwillingly listen to any project of the sort. I see no hopes in any shape of doing any real good.

Ever most truly yours, -

GRENVILLE.

P.S. We will suit our hours to your convenience, but our dinner time at this season is usually half-past five, which by our clocks is six.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

Lincoln's Inn, Dec. 13th.

My dear Father,—Feilding comes down with me on Sunday, to stay, I believe till Tuesday. We have no news here. I dined at Lansdowne House on Wednesday. Lord Lansdowne had received a long letter upon politics from Lord Grenville, I suppose written at your suggestion. He was a little amused at Lord Grenville's carelessness in forgetting to seal it.

Lord Grey is not expected in town before the 1st of January. We have strong reports of a decided quarrel between the Prince and the Duke of Cumberland; but I heard certainly to-day that the Duke was one

* Lord and Lady Hertford.

of those who assisted the Prince in getting into his carriage when he left Oatlands.* Perceval's friends are much elated, and give out that it is privately arranged that he is to remain in office. At any rate it is well that it should be settled before the meeting of Parliament. My love to all.

Your affectionate son,
G. EDEN.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Poynton, Stockport, Cheshire, Wednesday Night,
Dec. 18th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—As things draw nearer to a crisis, one cannot help being anxious to know a little of the *carte du pays*, and if you are not bored in giving me a line, that I may not make any improper use of it, I shall return it with the post, *et je ne vous citerai pas*.

My own rustic opinions lean strongly to the notion that the Lords Grey and Grenville will be *hustled* and *jostled*, and the present ministry remain, as they can pay more debts and grant more money than the professors and supporters of an economical system in contradistinction to a lavish one, and Kings and Prince Regents like such ministers best as pay debts with the true flourish of what are called "Pitt's principles." I hope I shall be mistaken, but such are my *ignorant* ideas. What Perceval can or will do about Ireland I have not an idea, for when I left Wales, which was a week ago, I heard that it was quite impossible the Duke of Richmond and Wellesley Pole could remain here.

Things in Spain look rather better, but a great deal will depend on Valencia. I shall be up on the 9th of January, for the meeting will be a most extraordinary one. How horrid such a number of murders are, and so few discovered; surely the papers must exaggerate. Trade in this country is low, but rather

* The Prince met with an accident while dancing the Highland fling, and had been for some time very ill.

livelier than it has been, why I can't tell you. I hear the Prince Regent is very unwell, and, I am sure, is *sick at heart*, for reasons too plain to escape the commonest observer. Lady Bulkeley joins me in best regards to you and Lady Auckland and family, and to Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Shafto when you see them.

I am, my dear Lord, your faithful servant,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Poynton, Saturday, Dec. 28th, 1811.

My dear Lord,—I have just had your kind letter, and return it with the post, that I may not have it in my power to make any improper use of it by quoting your name, which I never do. What the Prince Regent means to do as to choice of ministers is too plain, and *without his fair and frank confidence, and no tricks*, our friends could do no good, so, perhaps, they are as well out of power and place as in on dishonourable terms to their characters. The whole scene of roguery and dishonour is quite shocking and disgusting, but it will be still worse every succeeding day I prophesy.

I am anxious to see what can be done about finance, or will be done about Ireland, which is in a state past a joke, and what Lord Moira and the Prince's friends will do on the question of the Irish Catholics. I suppose a great many will leave opposition, with the Prince; and I must say among all the coalitions I have seen, one between Perceval and Sheridan will be the strongest of any. Should a great many go over with the Prince, Lord Grenville and Lord Grey must not look to divisions in either House, but to the public mind, as I guess four and three to one will be the usual proportion of divisions. I am very glad Lord Grenville is well. I am not surprised at his wish to farm or garden after the persecutions he has met with from the House of Brunswick.

Lord Cholmondeley told me at Brooke's last year,

that the Prince could not bear Lord Grenville, because he could not talk b—dy. How Perceval passes that ordeal I should like to know.

I shall be up on the 7th. I am very happy Mrs. Moore has got an eligible new place. Our joint best regards attend you and Lady Auckland and yours.

Most truly yours,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Feb. 15th, 1812.

My dear Lord,—The Duke of York sent for Grey the night before last, and yesterday morning he saw him and me, for the purpose of making to him a joint communication of a letter addressed to him by the Prince Regent. It contains, in substance, a panegyric on himself (the Prince Regent) and his present ministers; and in the last paragraph it expresses a wish that *some* of the opposition would unite with the Government.

The whole form and terms of this paper are so offensive, that it would well have justified a much rougher answer than we shall this day return to it. That answer will, however, of course, be a direct negative, and such as may I (*wish* more than I) *hope* preclude all further negotiation.

It is evident the whole will come to nothing, and is meant only to make a case against us—how successfully, time must show, for that is a question with which reason has nothing to do.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

(Private.)

My dear Lord,—The newspapers anticipated every communication I could have made.

A curious circumstance, however, occurred yesterday. The Duke of Norfolk, who thought his free discourse to the Prince on Friday shut the door on Carlton House against him, and was preparing to go out of town, received a message to desire he would remain for another conversation, which was to have taken place yesterday, but now fixed for to-day. The substance of the Prince's talk, was the complaining of the quickness with which the answer was sent, and the severity of the construction or misconstruction of his proposal.

The Duke was very stout, and denied two meanings could be put upon that proposition; but, admitting the possibility of its being misunderstood, how easy would it have been to have done away the error, stated the marked slight put upon Lord Grenville, which the Prince endeavoured to excuse by a reference to the difficulties made by Lord Grenville to the restoration of his brother; that he had not committed himself on the subject of Perceval as making him a permanent minister. All this is sad evasion; and of course made no impression beyond that of showing how he was in a bog of difficulties. The Duke was given to understand that he had disposed of *nothing*, nor would he do so for three weeks to come; a pleasant circumstance for the present ministers. Lord Moira's resolution to quit the country for Germany, urged by his circumstances, and this abominable transaction of the Prince, is supposed to have dismayed his Royal Highness very sensibly. What will grow out of his alarm God only knows.

A black mark is put by the Prince himself on Sidmouth, and Castlereagh accepts under the stipulation, of voting for the Catholic question. Canning has not even been mentioned, and I hear the party is furious. In the mean time, the Prince is perfectly well, able to receive the directors of ancient music, but refuses audiences to the Peers of England. The Garter has not been offered to the Duke of Rich-

mond, and if to Moira, which I believe, to no other person.

Ever yours, my dear Lord,

CARLISLE.

P.S. I can depend upon the history of the Duke of Norfolk, but wish you to keep it to yourself.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, May 13th, 1812.

My dear Lord,—As soon as I heard of this strange and shocking event*, I wrote to Grey to assure him that I would defer my journey to Stowe, and remain here to be in readiness to come to town at any moment if he wished it. But I feel a good deal of repugnance to the notion of going there, as if to look out for offers and negotiations, which, instead of courting, I have every reason to wish to avoid.

I am convinced the moment is not yet come, perhaps it never will (till too late), when either the Prince Regent, or Parliament, or the public, are enough informed of their real situation to bear any Government through in doing what alone can save us. It may be that the burthen of doing this may, before that time, be cast on us, so as that we cannot avoid it. But in that case I should go to the task with the fullest expectation—I might say certainty of—failing in it.

I deferred answering Grey's letter for two days, because, though on the subject of it I owed and have expressed to him many acknowledgments, it is connected with other less agreeable circumstances.

I shall be anxious to hear from you all *you* hear,

* The assassination of Mr. Perceval. Lord Liverpool was expected to succeed him, and then Lord Wellesley, and on their failure to form an administration, a negotiation was opened through Lord Moira with Lords Grey and Grenville.

and I certainly will not turn my back on any occasion in, which I can hope to do any good, though I foresee none such.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, May 22nd, 1812.

Dear Lord Auckland,—I shall *probably* be in town to-morrow, early. I say *probably*, because, if Wortley's* motion is *not* carried, I shall consider this crazy bark as *launched*, and then I see no good in my being in town. But I have left this point to Lord Grey's decision; and if I get by the post a line from him to say *come*, I will be in town before he can see anybody else to-morrow morning.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, June 6th, 1812.

My dear Lord,—All is off again. The Prince gave Lord Moira full powers to consult with us on forming a Government. We discussed the points of Ireland and America, about which, of course, we did not differ with him. We then asked whether there was any restraint upon our including the great officers of the Court in our arrangement, as has been usually done in changes of Government. He said the Prince laid no restraint upon us in this respect, but that he, Moira, could not concur in such a measure, which would be a degradation on the Prince, &c., &c.

We said we deemed it indispensable to show that the new Government had the constitutional confidence of the Crown, and to unite the Court with the political Government.

* An address for an efficient ministry. It was carried by a majority of four.

Here, therefore, we broke off, and the thing is at an end. I cannot pretend to regret that it is so, except so far as concerns Lord Moira, personally; for I am confident no good was to be done till the Prince feels his situation and that of the country.

Ever yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, July 2nd, 1812.

My dear Lord,—You will see our division*, 74 to 74 and proxies†, 51 to 52, by which the question, though *formally* lost, is, to all practical purposes, carried. The debate was very favourable; the Chancellor's speech, wretched beyond all description; Wellesley's good, but not particularly striking; Lord Holland's the best, I think, I ever heard from him. On the whole, the thing went off better than I had hoped, and I do trust this great point is now established beyond the reach of accident or evil design.

We had the votes of four cabinet ministers with us, but the whole weight of Court and Government against, which makes the triumph more complete.

We are going back this morning for good.

Ever most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to the Duke of Marlborough.

(Confidential to your Grace and Lord Francis only.)

Lord Francis, with all his acuteness, seemed to me yesterday to be prejudging the Carlton House question, and on misinformation.

It is not a question whether Lord and Lady

* On Lord Wellesley's resolution pledging the House of Lords to the consideration of the Catholic question in the following session.

† Lord Auckland's proxy was given in favour of Lord Wellesley's motion.

Hertford, and Lord Yarmouth, shall have an influence from which no vacating of offices can exclude them, nor whether any terms shall be put on the Prince beyond what are respectful and reasonable. His Royal Highness has never expressed any wish on the subject: but Lord Moira, from motives best known to himself, broke off the negotiations by declaring that he would not consent to the exercise, in any degree, of that "*Power of removal and recommendation which has usually been exercised in the appointment of new administrations.*" (I transcribe the words.) That declaration, added to other circumstances, showed beyond all doubt that the negotiation was insincere, and that the advisers of Carlton House, foreseeing its failure, trusted also to a failure of the attempt to be next made by Lord Moira to form a separate ministry. In the result Lords Eldon, Liverpool* and Castlereagh revive a Government notoriously and evidently unequal to the public distresses and difficulties, and morally impossible to be maintained without increasing embarrassments and mischiefs from day to day.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Cranford, Friday, 1st January, 1813.

Many thanks to you, my dear Lord, for your kind wishes to me, of *many* and *happy* returns of this day. The *first* I really do not desire; and if I did, I could not expect them! With respect to the *latter*, I have already enjoyed a longer, and a larger possession of the good things of this world, than is the usual lot of individuals. Health — fortune — friends — "*Men sana in corpore sano*," and have been placed in the situation (without envy or ambition) which our Charles II., at the end of his travels, declared to be the happiest which he had met with in all the countries he had visited: "An Englishman, with a com-

* The ministry was formed under Lord Liverpool, and, in spite of a expectation, it lasted until 1827. Lord Buckinghamshire and Mr. Vansittart were members of this cabinet, the former as President of the Board of Control, the latter as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

petent income, above the rank of a constable, and below that of a justice of peace."

I can neither be a sheriff nor a member of Parliament, or a justice. But, for all the blessings I have enjoyed, I am truly thankful!

I don't like the Americans taking our frigates, and *hope* that what has happened to Bonaparte may lead to a general peace; but I dare not expect it.

Best respects to Lady Auckland.

Yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Stanhope Street, Sunday Night, Jan. 2nd, 1813.

Dear Lord Auckland,—From politics there is little or no comfort either external or internal: all is vanity and vexation of spirit; and as to any change of men or measures, I look upon it completely out of the question. Carlton House and the Treasury may do just what they please, with a fresh new Parliament ready for any work they choose to impose upon them. Many causes contribute to this, particularly the fear of democracy and revolution, and the general property of the country—all swearing by the Crown first, by the good old King, and now *the good young Prince*. Add to this the Prince's having turned round on the Catholic question, which enables Government to play that old game, and revive the "No Popery" cry with great effect, in which they are aided by all the clergy, and ninety-nine out of one hundred in the law, throughout the kingdom. Of the young Masters of Arts who voted for Lord Grenville to be Chancellor of Oxford, half these voted looking up to the Prince, and were then what is called liberal men; they are now becoming intolerant, and cry "No Popery" lustily. All ranks of people hope to pick up something from the Crown; and there is a complete apathy and indifference about Parliament and about speaking and speeches; and all those who are in favour are looked up to, and all those out of favour *l'on n'en fait point*

de cas. The corruption is general, from the Princes and Princesses of the blood to the cobbler ; and how the country stands so many drains is quite a paradox to me : it certainly labours, as Mr. Vansittart said, but it goes on *tant bien que mal*.

I wish peace was probable, or possible, but there are so many difficulties to overcome that I fear it is at a great distance. The Americans will certainly hit us many hard blows at sea in our trade, and have already done it ; but the Government don't seem to mind it, while the opposition remains so divided and Whitbread so unmanageable.

Canning is, under existing circumstances, a great card ; but I think he has no leaning to the Lords Grenville and Grey, because he thinks they are proscribed at Carlton House ; and he probably, sooner or later, will be secured by the ministers, and he will then forget his slights and ridicule of the doctor. Lord Wellesley having been proscribed by the professors of what are called "Pitt's principles," is more likely to make up to his old school and Oxford friend, Lord Grenville.

I sincerely wish the Catholic question was at the bottom of the sea ; for it hangs like a millstone round the necks of those who have attached themselves to Lord Grenville, more especially as I think he adheres to it with a pertinacity and obstinacy which can be agreeable to none but his opponents, who must rejoice at it. What the future consequences of rejecting it may be I can't pretend to say, but the people of England may be, and are, easily inflamed on the subject ; and our clergy are most of them *Bonniers*. In my country I am plagued to death about my votes in favour of the Irish Catholic claims.

Bonaparte will play his games at Paris better than in Russia, and we shall, I fear, feel him again in our blood and in our pockets ; his wings and nails though clipped will grow again. Our joint best regards attend you and Lady Auckland and your family.

I am, my dear Lord, yours ever faithfully,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Auckland.

Castle Howard, Jan. 11th, 1813.

My dear Lord,—The last conversation I had with you was on the high road, and your last words were, “I think the business of the negotiation is as well left as possible.”

I was too little recovered to grapple at that time with so large a question. Better health and more circumstantial information do not, I confess, lead me to the same conclusions.* The being shipwrecked on the same rock with Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the *lady and secret influence*, shows how little from past examples we know how to avoid danger. Could it be supposed by taking Hertford’s wand from him we lessened the power of Manchester House? Did we not rather increase that power, and, in a tenfold degree, to our own certain ruin? Could the Prince be ever induced to forgive on his part this sort of treatment? So, on the first step of authority as ministers, we were to mount it with the consciousness we had not, or were ever likely to have, the Regent’s confidence. Why was not the subject of the household blinked at the moment? Why was it not to be assumed that the Regent would regard his ministers’ opinions and recommendations as well on that as on other points, till *he refused* to give them such wanted support? Then would have been the time to have fought the battle, and made the stand against the wild doctrines of Lord Moira.

But I shall be told, after all the invective uttered against that house, &c., could office have been taken without attempting to demolish it? Perhaps not. But this should have been thought of when the licence was given to the invective, and that indulgence of reprehension might as well have been considered a direct renunciation of all pretensions to ministerial conditions. Besides, are we quite sure the

* Several other members of the opposition agreed with Lord Carlisle.

right nail was hit upon the head? I suspect not—there being another secret influence infinitely more formidable to excite our knight-errantry in endeavouring to circumvent it: that of Lord Eldon, with his imp of darkness the Duke of Cumberland. How was this to be overcome? Could we stipulate against such intercourse and baleful interference?

There appeared to me only a choice between the standing aloof from office, under the conviction that no Government was practicable with the Prince so disposed, or have accepted, doing nothing to increase the difficulties of the hour, and giving the Prince some justification to the public for his conduct.

Here we continue to linger; the air and way of life agreeing with both Lord C—— and myself much better than the fogs of London. Remember us both most kindly to Lady Auckland, and believe me to be,
My dear Lord, ever yours,

CARLISLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, January 15th, 1813.

My dear Lord,—I return you Lord Carlisle's letter. He reasons, as is most common in such cases, on a *half* view of the subject, and omits all consideration of the evident and unquestionable fact, that Lord Moira was meant to be *the minister* in the intended, or rather *not* intended, arrangement.

After what has been since exhibited, a man must have a much stronger taste than I have for difficulty and disgrace, who laments that his friends have missed the distinction of being ministers to such a Court. Far from diminishing, I should very much increase my objections and distrust, if it were possible that there could again be question of inflicting such a calamity upon me.

Nothing could enable one to do real good, in spite of such counteraction, but a strong and almost unani-

mous determination in the country to extinguish the whole system of the Court Government, which has brought the public interests to the brink of ruin. There is no such disposition in the country, but the contrary.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, February 2nd, 1813.

My dear Lord,—We arrived here yesterday evening *for good*, as they call it. For what good it is not easy to say. I have put the painters in possession of Dropmore, which ensures my staying here longer than I like.

I have seen scarcely anybody yet, but I do believe there is much to be learnt.

I have the happiness to be free from the Carlton House festivities, and do indeed most perfectly agree in the opinion entertained there, that neither Lady Grenville nor myself are fit company for Princes and Princesses. God grant we may long continue so.

I can readily believe that Lord Liverpool and Vansittart are in no great hurry to bring their budget forward. Perceval's chief skill seems to have been shown in glossing over the real state of the finances. To do this his successors have not the abilities, and Van is, I really believe, too honest to wish it. So the truth must now come out, and a dreadful truth it is.

Ever most sincerely yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Stanhope Street, April 2nd, 1813.

Dear Lord Auckland,—I am unlucky in missing you and Lady Auckland whenever we visit Mrs.

Moore, for I should have liked very much to have had a little *causé* with you on the *tot discrimina rerum*.

Nothing turns up trumps for our *leaders*, for the Prince Regent has his own antipathies, as well as Lord and Lady Hertford's, Lord Yarmouth's, the Duke of Cumberland's, Queen's, and Lord Eldon's, so there is an aggregate of *hate*; and, as for the public, they seem not to care who is in or who is out, and to put the bridle on the horse of state's neck and let him pick his way as he can. Many will tell you it can't go on as it does, but I see no reason why it should not, while George Rose lives to direct the Treasury interior in intrigues, and the Duke of Cumberland those of Carlton House, and the people remain in apathy and indifference. Besides, the opposition are very much divided, and our leaders and Whitbread are all *abroad*. In the mean time I am not certain whether there are any great inducements for power under the terms annexed to it; for, as to chaining and tying down a certain person, that can't be done, for "Pitt's principles" would soon come to his relief; in short, such is the power of the Crown and of the Treasury, that there is no resisting them with any prospect of success now or hereafter. I am for one heartily sick of the whole concern; and if I could get out with honour I would never attend Parliament any more, so great a bore is it become: *Impar congressus*. The Government will take the whole merit in the Catholic question, if it ever ripens into arrangement, mind if they don't, by a timely concession; and the Catholics, when they gain their point, will soon forget those who lost their all for their sakes. I don't think our leaders are up to the chicane and roguery of the times, and will not see things as they are. So you will say, what a fool I am, and I shall say, my dear Lord, I am yours and Lady Auckland's ever faithful servant,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

P.S. Lady Bulkeley begs her best regards.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Stanhope Street, Monday, April 5th, 1813.

Dear Lord Auckland,—I don't think it right to keep by me any letters of yours in answer to my nonsense, for it would not be fair, and it is but right you should feel that you are safe with me. With such a disposition to treachery and roguery in a certain quarter, and with such intrigues *au dessus* and *au dessous à droite et à gauche*, plain dealing had no chance, and I am not surprised our generals Grey and Grenville were not *up to them*; and that they were not is very certain, and the consequences very palpable.

The nonsense of Saturday was that, when the Prince Regent heard from his ministers good despatches from the north or from Lord Wellington, that he said "D—— the north, and d—— Lord Wellington. Can you do or say anything by which I can get rid of that d——d Princess of Wales." The Duke of Cumberland is going, some say, to Russia, others to Hanover, to do as much mischief there, most probably, as he has done here; but I fear an old Yorkshire proverb will prove true, "nought is never in danger." I hope Miss Mary amuses herself much. Our joint best remembrances to Lady Auckland and yourself. We shall come to see you, *sole micante*.

Yours truly,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

CHAP. LI.

Letters of Sir James Mackintosh. — Mr. George Eden in Ireland. — An angry Duchess. — Grattan at Home. — The Marlborough Family. — Quarrel between the Prince and the Princess Charlotte. — Success of the Allies. — The King of France in personal Danger. — The Stock Exchange Hoax. — Enthusiasm of the Postmaster of Aylesbury. — The Allies enter Paris. — Deposition of Bonaparte. — Delight of Lord Grenville.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

Lincoln's Inn, Thursday.

My dear Father, — I merely write to say that I know nothing either about myself or the rest of the world. For I do not yet know when I shall be able to come to Eden Farm, and I have been all this morning out of the way of hearing news. The Lansdownes have been taking me to Lady Crewe's, at Brompton, to see Madame d'Arblay, who was exhibited to a select party. I found Lady Glenbervie there, who had dressed herself, she said, so as to be described as a heroine in the next novel. We had a great many other clever people, and passed a pleasant morning.

Your affectionate Son,

P.S. My love to all.

GEORGE EDEN.

Sir James Mackintosh to Lord Auckland.

Cheltenham, June 21st, 1813.

My Lord, — By a note from Lord Lansdowne yesterday, I learn that your Lordship has been pleased to use your good offices with the Duke of Marlborough to permit me to examine his papers for the purposes of my intended history.

I hasten to assure your Lordship of my warmest

gratitude for so great a benefit, which is greatly enhanced by the offer of access to your own valuable collections, respecting the last forty years*, of which I have long known the importance.

If I could also hope for your opinion on events, and your advice with respect to sources of information, I should look forward to an aid more valuable than I could expect from any papers. My only title to so much kindness as I have experienced, respecting the materials of this history, is, that I feel such a zeal to investigate this subject thoroughly as will enable me to leave the ground somewhat more clear to a successor of greater talents. Every aid given to me will, though perhaps indirectly, prove a contribution towards English history.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obliged humble servant,

JAMES MACKINTOSH.

Sir James Mackintosh to Lord Auckland.

August 5th, 1813.

My dear Lord, — I am most sincerely thankful for the permission to examine the Marlborough papers, which your Lordship's good offices have procured from the liberality of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. They may be of the utmost importance in illustrating English history from the Revolution to the accession.

I had the honour of stating to you the maxims by which I proposed to regulate my conduct in those cases where regard to historical truth might seem to be, in some respects, at variance with the tenderness due from the possessor of papers to the memory of an ancestor from whom he had derived them.

It is my wish to show my extracts to the person who permits me to examine his papers, or to some

* The Auckland MSS. extend from 1764 to 1814. They comprise the whole of the *secret* correspondence of Lord Suffolk's office during the American War.

one in whom he confides, that I may publish nothing which he would not himself have published. Mere private anecdote is no part of my province, and scandalous details of that sort are, in my opinion, better forgotten than recorded. Even private anecdotes may, however, be indirectly useful, by helping to a just conception of the character of important persons.

In the case of those facts which are properly historical, I should certainly do my best to persuade the owner of papers not to be too scrupulous. I should, as a general maxim, suppose that what is merely political cannot, at the distance of a century, be supposed to require any concealment.

But in every case I should think myself bound to comply with the desire of the owner in the use to be made of his papers. On that condition, implied or expressed, the permission is granted. Whatever I have permission to publish, is so much gained for public information. Being a trustee, I should no more conceive myself entitled to betray my trust than to steal the papers for the sake of historical truth.

I am extremely obliged by your Lordship's kind mention of the end of September as the time when you are likely to visit Blenheim; I shall probably be then either at Cheltenham or at Bowood. But a letter to Great George Street will find me, and I shall be ready at the shortest notice to proceed to the examination of the papers. The correspondence of the Duke of Berwick which I have lately read at Carlton House, points my mind very much to the Duke of Marlborough.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your much obliged,

J. MACKINTOSH.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, August 31st, 1813.

My dear Lord,—I am setting out this day for Cornwall. Lady Grenville goes to Malvern, as I was

unwilling that she should undertake so long and fatiguing a journey as that to Boconnoc, for the short time that I may, *perhaps*, stay there; but all my own motions are uncertain, and depend on the business I may find there. I fear that I cannot make any calculation so agreeable to my wishes as to bring us back here quietly re-settled in this peaceful home by the first or even the second week in October.

The Austrian declaration of war opens a new scene of hopes and fears, and has even a little revived my speculations, of possible deliverance from the overwhelming tide of evil which has set in upon us for the last twenty years. But then, alas! I think what the Courts of Vienna, and Berlin, and Petersburg are, and my doubts and apprehensions return.

Northcote's life of Reynolds is at best but a poor compilation of very uninteresting anecdotes. Yet it amuses by the mere power of names, to which one is used.

I have been much pleased lately with Sismondi's account of the "Literature of the Southern Nations of Europe." It is an imperfect work. Two volumes only are come over, but I think you would find them well worth reading.

His history of the Italian Republics I reserve for winter evenings. It is too large an undertaking for summer, with its out-of-door amusements. But the subject is a great favourite of mine, and I anticipate pleasure from the work. The comparison of those republics with the States of Greece was once a literary project of my own, but I never had either leisure or the knowledge for it.

Ever most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

Eight in the Morning, Coleraine, August 28th, 1813.

My dear Father,—As I shall not be near a post town for three or four days, I write a few lines whilst Lady Lansdowne is making breakfast. I left Belfast

for Antrim on Wednesday, and crossed some very high hills in my round, with a view of the channel and Scotland and the Isle of Man behind me, and Loch Nenagh, twenty-five miles broad, with the Tyrone and Donegal mountains before me. The Lansdownes had not arrived when I reached Antrim, and I walked to see an immense Gothic building which Lord Massareene is repairing and enlarging close to the town. From thence I walked on to Slane Castle, Lord O'Neil's, the domain of which is very fine, and the farming and stabling establishment immense. He has about 1600 acres in his own hands. The Castle stands close to the lake, on a fine terrace, with a battery of twenty-one cannons. The building is old, but not very large, and Lord O'Neil has begun some considerable additions to it. I had hardly dined before Lord Lansdowne's servant arrived, and he and Lady Lansdowne very shortly followed. Both very well. She is the best traveller I ever saw—always in good humour—ready to sleep on a mattress or to dine on bread and butter and anxious to see everything in the course of our journey.

Yesterday, we walked eight or nine miles, and arrived here with ravenous appetites to a wretched inn, and a dinner of eggs and bacon, for nothing else was catable. We saw but little on the road, except a settlement of Moravians, whose neatness was a curious contrast to the dirty Irish cabins. To-day we set off for the Causeway, and thence along the coast to Belfast. Lord Lansdowne is arguing with the ostler and landlady about post-horses, and they beat him hollow in eloquence. We are going immediately to a salmon-leap about a mile from hence. My love to all.

Yours affectionately,
G. EDEN.

Mr. George Eden to Lady Auckland.

Dublin, September 6th, 1813.

My dear Mother, — After breakfast, the Lansdownes set off for England, and I for Hillsborough. The next day I went on to Lord Roden's, where I found the Duchess of Richmond*, Lady Sarah and Lady Georgiana Lennox, the Powerscourts, the Jocelyns, a Mr. Sandford, Mr. Wingfield, a Miss Leeman, and one or two other people. Except the Jocelyns, they were all strangers to me, but I found it a very pleasant party. The place is beautiful, and we wandered all day amongst woods and cascades, and talked nonsense in the evening. It must have been at first an awkward meeting for Lord Jocelyn and Lady Sarah†, but they seemed to bear it well.

The Duchess is quite foaming at the mouth with politics, though little was said on the subject, except of compliment to her and the Duke, till the last night, when at supper she made a direct attack upon me, and we disputed for an hour and more, to the great amusement of the whole company, who, though all favourable to her side of the question, were astounded at her violence. I fought what I thought a very good battle, and at last she said that she supposed I believed the story of the Duke of Richmond's having committed murder (alluding to a libel against him for having ordered the execution of some criminal). I answered, with the utmost gravity and composure, that it was, indeed, a case of great doubt and difficulty. She then entreated me to read a pamphlet written in his vindication. I said I would, as in justice I ought, but that I did not give much credit to Government pamphlets. Lord Powerscourt‡, who likes mischief, upon this begged to have also a copy

* Eldest daughter of the Duchess of Gordon, married, in 1789, to the Duke of Richmond, late Lord-Lieutenant, succeeded, in August 1813, by Lord Whitworth.

† Lady Sarah Lennox, married in 1815 to Sir Peregrine Maitland.

‡ Richard, fifth Viscount, born 1790, died 1823.

of the pamphlet, as he had some doubts on the subject. Almost immediately after this the party broke up, and the Duchess departed, I thought, more than half angry. She was in better humour the next day but did not allude to the last night's dispute. The next day she set off for the north, and I for Dublin. I have to-day a long letter of instructions for touring from Lady Riversdale, and one from Charles Fielding, near Carlisle. To-day I dine at Mr. Peel's*, to meet the Lord-Lieutenant.

Your affectionate Son,
G. EDEN.

Mr. George Eden to Lady Auckland.

Tinnehinch†, Sept. 11th, 1813.

My dear Mother,—I write from this place (though without much to say), because I have about half an hour to spare whilst the ladies are getting ready for church. I am in, I should think, the most beautiful country in the world, and with one of the pleasantest families I ever saw.

Grattan is himself quite delightful—playful, talkative, full of anecdote, and candid and charitable to all mankind; and, in consequence, he is beloved by everybody, whether friend or stranger—whether agreeing or disagreeing with him in politics. His conversation is particularly entertaining, though perhaps a little too epigrammatical for good taste but his pointed metaphors flow so easily from him that they do not offend. His life is most completely domestic, his walks much confined to his flower gardens and shrubberies. He has a little levee of beggars at the door every morning, and he comes in now and then, and says, "There is a boy who looks hungry," and he goes off with a plate of toast and an egg. This perhaps multiplies his petitioners a little and, in the same good-natured way, he lets everything

* The Irish Secretary.

† The residence of Mr. Grattan.

animals and trees, &c., overgrow the place ; but as its character is wildness, this does not injure the place.

Mrs. Grattan is a very pleasing woman, but ill with the rheumatism. One of the Miss Grattans only is at home and she is not handsome, but lively and natural : besides these, we have Colonel Fitzgerald, brother to Mrs. Grattan, and Mr. Elliot (who married one of his sisters), a clergyman, with his wife and two daughters — he is some relation to us but I cannot trace how nearly so : his eldest son was christened after Lord Minto. Yesterday I rode with Colonel Fitzgerald through the Dargle and to the waterfall at Powerscourt, which perhaps you have seen. To-morrow I have much more to see, and mean to get on on Tuesday to Arklow.

My love to all.

Your affectionate Son,
G. EDEN.

Mr. Vansittart to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, October 25th.

My dear Lord Auckland, — I must confess that the state of things seems to me still more anxious and critical than this morning ; for Bonaparte is now so hemmed in that a retreat without almost the total destruction of his army is impossible, and Bonaparte* with 180,000 men is a formidable *bête aux abois*.

You remember how the Hottentots, at the Cape, hunt the lion. They form a circle round him, and the man in his rear flings a javelin at him ; he turns to fly at *him*, when another flings *his* dart, and so on till the lion drops.

Yours, affectionately,
N. VANSITTART.

* The battle of Leipzig was fought on the 18th of October.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

House of Commons, Nov. 17th, 1813.

My dear Father,—Horner* has applied to me to get a job carried through your means. Mr. Allen the master of Dulwich College, wishes very much to be married; but would by such an act lose his mastership. Our friend John Allen†, though he does not wish to follow the master's example, is yet anxious that the marriage should take place, from motives of friendship, and is by no means solicitous to succeed his superior; and he is one of the prime movers in the whole business.

The Princess Charlotte has been reprimanded by the Prince of Wales, for calling the Queen the "Merry wife of Windsor." He said, "Do not you know that my mother is Queen of England; and she answered "You, sir, seem to forget that my mother is Princess of Wales."

I have just been taking the oaths. Yesterday went down forgetfully in boots. I hear of no news from the continent; but the talk is of bad news from America.

Your affectionate Son,
G. EDEN.

Archdeacon Coxe to Lord Auckland.

Salisbury, Nov. 23rd, 1813.

My dear Lord,—I delayed answering your Lordship's obliging letter till you were returned to Eden Farm, where, I suppose, this will reach you. I am much obliged to your Lordship for the information contained in your letter, as well as for the trouble you have so kindly taken. I shall be ready to give Sir James Mackintosh every assistance in my power, and shall be greatly obliged to him for any he can afford.

* Francis Horner.

† Lord Holland's friend.

to me, which I have no doubt will be very considerable.

Your kindness emboldens me to request that your Lordship would ask the Duke of Leeds for permission to make use of such letters in the Godolphin collection as may be serviceable for my intended work, and not necessary for that of Sir James Mackintosh. What I am most anxious for are any letters which may have passed between the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin. I have the honour to be known to her Grace the Duchess of Leeds.

Your Lordship was likewise so kind as to promise that you would employ your intervention with Mr. Rose*, in obtaining for me the communication of any letters which may have passed between the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Marchmont, or any other papers in his collection which may be of service to me.

I have adopted your Lordship's plan for my intended work, and shall call it "Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough," illustrative of his private and particular correspondence, &c. The only difficulty I shall have will be in compression.

I have already commenced the herculean labour of sifting the correspondence; and I shall avail myself of your Lordship's goodness in submitting to your judgment a sketch of the year 1705, as soon as it is completed. I have selected that year because the correspondence is less voluminous, and because it is less active than those before or after.

I am, my dear Lord, yours most sincerely and gratefully,

WILLIAM COXE.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

M. Park, Sunday, November 28th.

My dear Lord,—I must correct the conclusion of

* Mr. George Rose.

your Lordship's letter, "and so the world goes on to "and so the world goes off!" In the same Marlborough family I have lived to see eight* generations

1. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.
2. Lady Sunderland.
3. Jack Spencer.
4. The first Lord Spencer.
5. The present Lord Spencer.
6. Duchess of Devonshire.
7. Lady Morpeth.
8. Her children.†

I saw Sarah in Lincoln's Inn, consulting Mr. Fazakerly, who stood close to her Grace's chair. So you see I beat *Nestor*‡ out and out. I wish you could meet me with "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century" It is very curious and very amusing, and has brought back to my recollection many persons and events that I had totally forgot.

Why should not the Emperor of Germany, as I have with him the six lay electors, hold a chapter for the formal reduction of the confederation of the Rhine and restoration and re-establishment of the laws and constitution of the empire?

Have you seen the annexed paragraph? If not, it will amuse you:—

"ST. PETERSBURGH.—The following rather singular notice has appeared in the Moscow Government paper, and shows that Count Rostopchin will not soon forget Vandamme's§ conduct when last in Moscow.

"NOTICE.—The Commander-in-Chief of Moscow makes known to those who are desirous of seeing the French prisoner of war Vandamme that his height is two vischuns seven wishaps, stout made, forty-six years of age, dark complexion. He has certainly nothing extraordinary about him; yet those who are desirous to have a sight of him, are to address themselves to the town-major, Colonel Dalwig."

I have long wished so to treat *Napoleon* (you will

* Only seven, the name of the second Lord Spencer ought to be struck out.

† The present Lord Carlisle and the Duchess of Sutherland.

‡ Mr. Hatsell died in 1820.

§ Vandamme was taken prisoner at Kulm.

have observed, that *this* and not *Emperor of France* is the appellation by which the allied Princes now call him) if they can catch him. I would then, after every body had paid their *shilling*, send him into Siberia, to herd with Vandamme and the other boors and wolves in that inhospitable region; for it has been remarked that, during his residence in the civilised world, he has *never* committed a *single* act of kindness, beneficence, charity, or even of humanity.

Yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Monday.

My hopes and spirits were much raised, after I wrote to you on Saturday, by seeing in the "Courier" of that evening, what I find is considered by others, as well as by myself, as an *official* notification of the terms of peace.

If France really is reduced within her limits of 1789, and if she puts into the hands of the allies her most important fortresses as cautionary terms, till the definitive treaty is made and executed, I fairly own, I think that as good a peace as we can make with *him*, nor, in point of terms, would I ask more from the Bourbons.

But I shall never consider the security of Europe as complete till the revolutionary taint is washed away,—nor can I think it possible that either his personal character, or the nature of his (purely military) government, can suffer him to remain at rest. War we shall, in that case, most certainly have again, very shortly, for the defence of Holland, and for that we must prepare.

It required more courage than belongs to our ministers to declare that, *entering France*, they could not deprive themselves of the additional chances of success which the white cockade would have given

them ; but had they done so, I believe Louis XVIII. would at this hour be the peaceable (and *very* peaceable) King of France.

It matters, however, very little what I think, and most probably even this I shall not take the trouble to say.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, Thursday.

My dear Lord,—You will see the Gazette account ; the success is certainly beyond all hope, and authorises expectations which a few months ago would have appeared like the dreams of madmen.

I am not sure, from what you say, that you will not think my language to-day too warlike. But I think this really is one of the cases that justify great exertion, because there is a great object to accomplish, and a reasonable prospect of obtaining, not Gazette victories, but solid and permanent advantage ; and it is something to have lived to see the moment when one may without ridicule talk again in the British Parliament of the balance of power in Europe.

The danger now is the disunion* of the allies. I hardly know how to hope that they will have learnt, from the experience of thirty years, the wisdom of the old fable of the bundle of sticks ; and if they have not, we are no further advanced than we were ; and Bonaparte may repair by negotiation in the winter all he has lost by defeat during the campaign.

We shall expect you the 13th.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

* The firmness of Lord Castlereagh prevented this disunion from being fatal.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

January 10th, 1814.

My dear Father,—If it be true that the terms of peace offered by Bonaparte were, France as it was before the Revolution, the allies appear to me to be mad in their invasion of France, in which I think (I can hardly say I fear) they will not be long successful. It can only be done with the intention of setting up the Bourbons. I see the “*Courier*” invites Louis XVIII. to land in Normandy. He, poor man, is lying ill at Bath, from having eaten a whole turkey stuffed with chestnuts, — and has very little thought of incurring further personal danger.

My love to all.

Your affectionate Son,
G. EDEN.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, January 13th, 1814.

I am so exceedingly exalted that I begin to flatter myself with the expectation of the restoration of the Bourbons. Without it there can be no end of bloodshed; for it is scarcely possible that so many rapacious and ambitious commanders will quietly give their obedience to the King of France, in the event of Bonaparte's death, unless he should live long enough to make his son as noxious as himself, which Heaven avert. Do you think there is any probability of borrowing him for the benefit of Pidcock's museum? but rather than wish him in a cage like another Bajazet, I should like to see him dead. Our General Clinton has had a sad campaign with the worst composed army in Europe, but the testimonials from Lord Wellington are highly comfortable and flattering.

I suppose you have plenty of information from the armies; if not, perhaps I can send you some of

events during last campaign that may interest you. Little Anne has annoyed us by indisposition, but is now much better; George Augustus is well.

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Grey to Lord Auckland.

Howick, January 14th, 1814.

My dear Lord,—I a few days ago received your very kind letter, with the pleasure which must always attend every proof of your remembrance. I could not doubt the kind interest you take about me, and am happy to tell you that I continue tolerably well, though not yet so strong as I was before this last attack.

I need not say that the events of the last six months have far surpassed my expectations. Never, to be sure, did any man so abuse the power, and waste the means which fortune had put into his hands, as Bonaparte. After what has happened, he will be a confident man who will venture to predict what will happen in the further prosecution of this contest. But I cannot help fearing the event of this invasion of the territory of old France. The whole depends upon the manner in which the people answer the call that Bonaparte has made upon them. If they do not fail him, the causes which have contributed to the success of the allies will be reversed as they advance. If, on the contrary, there no longer exists that sort of spirit which may give him the command of an effective national force, his total destruction is not improbable. This cannot long remain doubtful.

We have had, till within the last fortnight, the finest mild weather I ever remember in winter. At the time they were groping their way through the streets of London, at mid-day, with flambeaux, we were sitting on the rocks, enjoying a clear air and bright sun, with just frost enough to prevent the

roads being dirty. We are now covered with snow, and the roads nearly impassable.

Lady Grey joins with me in kind remembrances to Lady Auckland; and I remain, my dear Lord, yours most truly,

GREY.

P.S. If we do not kill and eat Bonaparte, and lose this opportunity of making peace, I take it for granted your friend Van will have no difficulty in finding the very moderate supplies that will be wanted to carry on the war, at the present rate of expense.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

Brookes's, 5 o'Clock.

My dear Father,—A post-chaise and four came galloping into town this morning, covered with laurels and white ribbands, with an account of the death of Bonaparte, and proclamation of the Bourbons at Paris. Omnium rose to 32.* Well done bulls. Since this they have defeated the allies, with immense loss; and omnium is down at 28! Well done bears. The only news to be depended on is, that the last messenger sent to Lord Castlereagh was not allowed to proceed through France, but has been obliged to return.

The Queen of Wurtemberg is coming to England. She had 5000*l.* per annum given her by this country on her marriage, out of which our economists will provide for her.

Your affectionate Son,
G. EDEN.

* This was the hoax for which Lord Cochrane was tried.

Mr. Garlike to Lord Auckland.

Albany, Thursday 3rd, 1814.

My dear Lord,—The postmaster at Aylesbury, with some well-chosen neighbours, went to Hartwell House*, as soon as the late stock-jobbing fabrication arrived. They were received by the poor King himself, who shook hands with them, invited them to France, filled them with wine, and so on, till they had a sort of foresight of their public entry into Versailles. Their disappointment was as great as the King's.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your respectful, honourable servant,

B. GARLIKE.

P.S. I beg many kind remembrances to Mr. Eden.

The negotiation with Murat has been some time on the carpet. The blame will fall chiefly on England. Austria looks, as I have been told, to the north of Italy; and Prussia will not, as I have also been told, oppose her aggrandisement in that quarter.

There is a King of Sardinia, a faithful ally of Great Britain.

Your Lordship's letter went to Blenheim and Windsor, before it came here.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, March 4th, 1814.

The Gibbon letter just comes in time for insertion. I caused it to be copied immediately, and now return it. I was going to require a particular account of all the nations† sprung from your lady, in order to form a note to the letter, when I discovered the list on the back of Gibbon's letter. It was among the last the poor fellow wrote, and when he was very far from

* Residence of Louis XVIII.

† Eleanor born in England, Catherine in America, Caroline in Ireland, Henry in Paris, Louisa in Spain, and Charles in Holland.

well. I have thought it extraordinary that, among the multitude of letters addressed to him, I did not find one from you, who transcend all in letter and note writing, and in facility thereof. If I had found any, and you had been so squeamish as not to approve of publishing them at present, I should have wished to outlive you, that I might have published them after your apotheosis, which I surely would have done.

I have never ceased my execrations of those poor creatures who have not the genius to rise with the great events of the times, and see that now or never permanent peace may be acquired by the restoration of the Bourbons.

It grieves me to observe that you do not soar above those poor creatures. You say the conduct of the campaign in France is certainly not edifying. I see nothing to blame in the military part, except the obvious folly of separating the several corps, and giving Bonaparte the only chance he had of beating them in detail. Somehow this Crown Prince* seems always to be somewhat behind. Finally, I shall recommend to Nicholas the Ancient to have peculiar attention to Messrs. the Austrian Emperor and Metternich.

We are yours and the dear family's most sincerely,
SHEFFIELD.

P.S. I have about seventy new letters from very considerable personages now at the press.

Lord Bulkeley to Lord Auckland.

Stanhope Street, Wednesday, March 9th, 1814.

Dear Lord Auckland,—I am under great difficulty in writing to you, for events change so rapidly that my poor head cannot pretend to any prophecy as to the ultimate event: *nam finis coronat opus*. A few days ago the allies were up and Bonaparte down, then Bonaparte was up and the allies down; and now the allies are up again and Bonaparte down; for, from

* Of Sweden.

the letters and accounts in the papers to-day, he seems very hard pressed; and it will be curious to see how he is to extricate himself, which, however, he has done before, and probably will do again, for, wicked and odious as he is, he is certainly a wonderful man. However, here, in London, ninety-nine out of one hundred think it is all over with him; and any doubt or disbelief only draws on the pleasant construction that one wishes Bonaparte success, as nothing else can be favourable to opposition. I dined yesterday with a very large party, when a noble female gave me a good portion of this Billingsgate. The Oxford address is put off to the 17th, and the Scotts, particularly Sir William, beat up for a numerous attendance to mortify the Chancellor, who, you know, does not go up with it.

I have no idea that anything will turn up trumps for us as a party; for though the Prince Regent d——s and abuses Lord Liverpool and all his ministers, who are not unwilling to treat *even* with Bonaparte, and will not join with him in all his projects for restoring the Bourbons, still, Lord Eldon is alpha and omega, the first and the last; and you may depend on it he will adopt "Pitt's principles" to anything and everything by which the present ministers are kept in, and the opposition kept out of power. As to a public, there is none; or, if any, all ranged *du côté du plus fort*, and for contracts and jobs of all sorts in Church, law, and state, and army and navy—*probitas laudatur et alget*. They say Lord Grenville is coming to town, and, I dare say, will make a good speech; and so will Lord Grey, and so will Lord Wellesley; but the public will mind them about as much as ballad-singers in Cranbourn Alley. How our money is to hold out *je ne comprends pas*. Lady Bulkeley joins me in best remembrances to you and yours and at Freclands.

Yours, ever faithful,

WARREN-BULKELEY.

Mr. George Eden to Lord Auckland.

London, March 14th.

My dear Father,—I hear no news beyond the very melancholy details of the attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, and they will be in the evening papers. If anything will justify Graham for having run so great a risk, the first possession of the place, very easily obtained, will do it. It was afterwards lost by the mistakes of one of the columns, and by the want of direction and indiscipline of the troops after the death of some of the commanding officers. It throws a great gloom over London, for many of the officers mentioned as lost we were here in the daily habit of meeting. George Disbrowe's wound is very slight; he is expected home directly. I am really sorry for Graham; he might have finished his career so creditably a short time since, and it will be now very difficult to acquit him of blame. The report of Blucher's defeat gains ground, but I cannot think it probable from the dates.

Lord Cochrane's defence is not satisfactory, and still less so are those of Mr. C. Johnstone and Mr. Butt.

Your affectionate Son,
G. EDEN.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Auckland.

India Board, April 2nd, 1814.

My dear Lord Auckland,—A messenger at last has arrived from Castlereagh with an account of the rupture of the negotiation on the 18th ult.

It is also said that Schwartzenberg repulsed Bonaparte at Arcis-sur-Aube; but there is no date given to this battle in the bulletin, and I have not seen the despatches.

I have this day informed Arthur Eden that I intend to appoint him my private secretary when H. Ellis leaves London.

Yours affectionately,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

*Note**.—I am really glad of this, and had partly hoped it would happen. Arthur Eden† is deserving regular, and capable.

Mr. Vansittart to Lord Auckland.

My dear Lord Auckland,—I was prevented this morning from showing your letter to Lord L—— by the arrival of intelligence from France.

On the 5th instant, the Senate pronounced the *déchéance* of Bonaparte and his family, and appointed a commission consisting of Talleyrand, Beurnonville, Jaucourt, Dahlberg, and Montesquieu, to frame a constitution, the principles of which are to be the preservation of a Senate and Legislative Body — toleration of all religions — liberty of the press, and preservation of all existing property. The Senate has addressed the armies no longer to pay obedience to B.

He is reported to be at Fontainebleau and the army deserting him.

Yours affectionately,
N. VANSITTART.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Camelford House, April 6th, 1814.

I have hardly yet recovered myself from the first transport of delight in seeing that both our wishes are, as I trust, on the point of being realised — your for immediate peace; and mine for that which, I am convinced, could alone render peace of any duration and therefore of any value — viz., the termination of the whole revolutionary system, and a return to the legitimate sovereignty of the Bourbons.

If the allied Sovereigns or their ministers have common sense, they have by this time proclaimed Louis XVIII. at Paris, in plain and intelligible terms and not in the *amphiboly* of a *puissance salutaire*, and a *Gouvernement bienfaisant*, and Heaven knows what

* By Lord Auckland.

† Lord Auckland's nephew, brother-in-law of Lord Brougham.

circumlocutions to disguise the plain truth, the only advantage of which is to shake all confidence in your friends, and to show your enemies how unequal your courage is to your success.

Such are my politics ; how just I know not, but very decided in sentiment and opinion.

I do not know what to make of the Speaker and his declarations.

If no Christchurch candidate is proposed, or if there *is one*, and *two* vacancies, I have much desire that Heber should succeed, but I cannot in propriety canvass for him. Perhaps you may have means of being *quietly* of use to him.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, April 11th, 1814.

To be sure, the *dénouement* of the Island of Elba, and a pension, does change this tragedy into something approaching very nearly to farce. But the important thing, for which one never can feel sufficiently glad is, that this dreadful scourge is at last removed from us, and that after twenty years of distress and difficulty we breathe and live again.

I had always a firm conviction that this day would come ; but I had little hope of living to witness it.

All is now plain sailing. Peace must, I think, be made in a week, and we have then only to consider how to repair the breaches which this inundation has made in our finances, and in our domestic economy and commercial system.

I return to town in about a fortnight, for how long accident will decide.

Ever yours,
GRENVILLE.

The letter of Lord Grenville is the last in the Auckland MSS.

On the 28th of May Lord Auckland, who had never recovered from the shock of the inexplicable event of 1810, dropped down dead at the breakfast table. It is needless to state that his loss was deeply felt by his family * who "worshipped," and his friends who loved him.

With regard to Lord Auckland's private character there are, in the correspondence, so many testimonies to his boundless kindness and generosity that it is not necessary to say anything respecting it. The following extract from the letter of one of the keenest intellects† of the age will suffice :—" Indeed, my dear Eden, you have made a more meritorious use of the enlightened understanding and strong abilities you enjoy than any other person I have ever known, abroad or at home ; and I often think of you as the best model upon which all other men ought to have been formed. Many are indebted to you for the happiness of their lives ; and in your public career you have, both in the hours of success and defeat, preserved untainted those private virtues, so beneficial to many fortune has placed within the reach of your protection and assistance."

With regard to his public character, it is right to observe that it would be as fair to write the "Life of Pitt" from the "Memorials of Fox," as to estimate Lord Auckland's character from the journals and correspondence of his bitterest enemies. On the contrary, the editor firmly believes that what is stated in the Preface is perfectly correct, and "that if Lord Auckland's life were fairly and dispassionately written, he would be found to have been an able and honest public servant, as he was, unquestionably, in private life an amiable and excellent man."

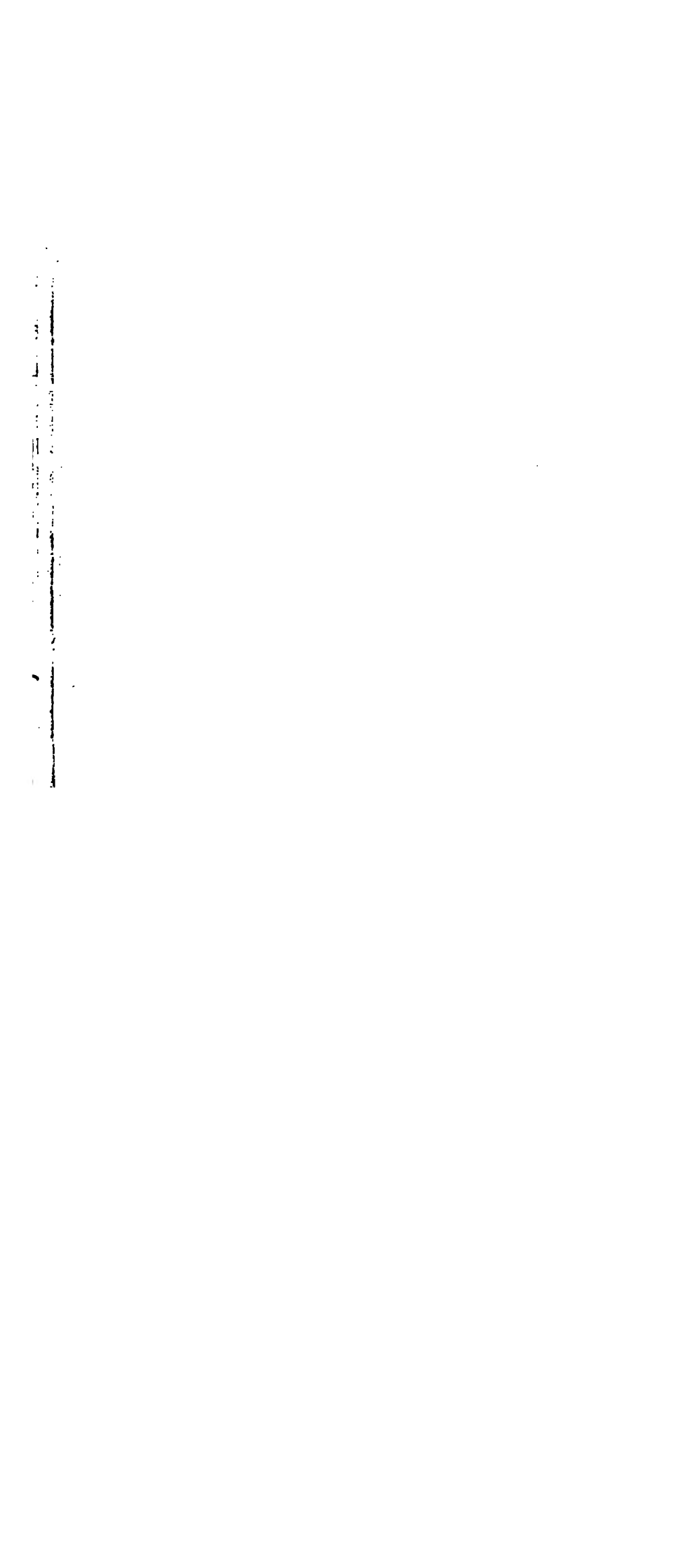
* Only two of Lord Auckland's family now survive, the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Hon. Emily Eden.

† See Letter of Hugh Elliot in vol. i. 345.

POSTSCRIPT.

In Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," just published, an erroneous account is given of the correspondence that took place respecting the interesting affair* of 1797. If it were of the character described by Lord Stanhope, there could not possibly have been the slightest objection to publish it; but the fact is, a long and painful discussion took place on that occasion, which terminated honourably to all parties concerned. It is entirely incorrect to state, that Lord Auckland was in the slightest degree averse to the marriage on account of Mr. Pitt's pecuniary difficulties; on the contrary, believing that his daughter was attached to Mr. Pitt, he was naturally anxious that it should take place.

* Mr. Pitt was born in 1759, and Eleanor Eden in 1777, making a difference of eighteen years; not eight, as stated by Lord Stanhope, in their respective ages.



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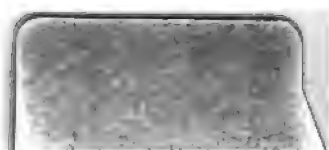
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STATES AND CARINIA

WILLIAM W. AND VIRGINIA

THE LONDON LONDON

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND STRATHMORE

IN TWO VOLUMES

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CHAPTER I.

[1830.]

CAREER OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE IN THE ROYAL NAVY—ASCENDS
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OF FRANCE—"THE THREE GLORIOUS DAYS"—THE IMPRESSION
THEY CREATE IN ENGLAND—THE KING AND LORD ELDON.

CHAPTER I.

THE Duke of Clarence ascended the throne of the British Empire under the title of William IV., accompanied by the most cordial wishes of his subjects of every grade. The antecedents of his Royal Highness had invested him with an extraordinary degree of personal favour, especially with the lower and middling classes, in consequence of his connexion with the more popular branch of the united services. Prince William Henry, as he was then styled, had commenced his naval career as a midshipman, under Captain Digby, in the *Royal George* of ninety-eight guns, as far back as the year 1779, and having ascended the subsequent steps, was appointed a Rear-admiral of the Blue by an order in council. He had previously been created Duke of Clarence.

His only subsequent employment in the British marine was in the year 1814, when, as Admiral of the Fleet, he had the command of the naval escort that attended Louis XIV. across the Channel on the return of that monarch to his kingdom; and in 1827, when he was appointed Lord High Admiral,

which office he resigned in the following year, after having gained an increased popularity by the promotion of one hundred and twenty-seven lieutenants to the rank of commander. His Royal Highness had to some extent identified himself with the liberal party in politics, which he demonstrated by taking office under Mr. Canning, and resigning when the Duke of Wellington became Premier, and Whigs and Radicals rivalled each other in expressing their sense of his virtues and merits. He had been married since the 11th of July, 1818, to Adelaide Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Saxe Meiningen, a princess of singular amiability of disposition. The deaths of the Princess Charlotte and of the Duke of York brought him next in succession to the throne. Though a very brilliant prospect opened before him, the Duke of Clarence made no alteration in his habits, which had always been remarkable for simplicity and cordiality. He lived much at Bushey Park with his Duchess—a pleasant domesticated life, entirely free from political intrigues, professing what were considered liberal opinions, but without intimate relations with any party. Indeed he was no partizan ; and though he suffered himself once or twice to be put forward as an advocate, he was averse to making demonstrations in favour of any particular measure as a means of influencing others. His only partiality was the naval service of his country, and this he was incapable of disguising.

On the death of George IV. it became a favourite study with some politicians to make contrasts between that Sovereign and his successor. There is no question that little similarity could be discovered when they were compared; "the first gentleman in Europe," and "the bluff sailor King," as the latter was popularly called, appeared to have nothing in common. The ultra refinement, as it was considered, of the one, was opposed by the bluff honesty of the other, and King George's intellectual advantages were thought to be thrown into the shade by King William's sincerity of purpose. His elevation to the throne was regarded by the profession to which he had belonged with extraordinary gratification.

England had not seen a naval sovereign since James II., and the people generally anticipated a wholesome change in the Government of the country, from the frankness of character and other favourite attributes with which they had always invested the character of "the true British sailor."

The funeral of the late King was performed on the 15th of June, 1830, with much magnificence, and every possible degree of respect; William IV. taking part in the procession that accompanied the royal corpse from St. George's Hall to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, as chief mourner, and the Duke of Buckingham assisting to support the pall. The Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn attended with the Privy Councillors, and Sir W. H.

Fremantle in his place as treasurer of the late King's household. The other mourners were the Duke of Sussex, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and the Dukes of Cumberland and of Gloucester. The ceremony was extremely affecting, especially that portion of it where Sir George Naylor, Garter Principal King-of-arms, after pronouncing the titles, and announcing the demise of the deceased monarch, repeated the titles of his successor, concluding with the exclamation "God save King William the Fourth!" Increased effect was given to the solemnity of the scene by its occurring in the evening, for the number of torches that were carried threw a picturesque light over the various costumes worn by the different officials, while the sombre shadows of the building placed them in prominent relief.

William IV., almost immediately after the supreme power had been placed in his hands, gave very pleasing evidence of the kindness of his heart. An application was made to him on behalf of Mrs. Fitzherbert, of whose intimacy with his late brother when Prince of Wales, he must have been aware. The King, it has been stated, invited her to Windsor, treated her with the greatest respect, gave her permission to clothe her servants in the royal livery, placed implicit reliance in all her statements, and having sanctioned an arrangement by which all private papers were to be destroyed—with a few exceptions that were placed under

seal at Coutts's banking-house—settled upon her an income of 6000*l.* a-year. Mrs. Fitzherbert never forgot this liberal conduct, and to the close of her life spoke of it with the most earnest expressions of gratitude.¹

Society had long been in an extremely disturbed state in England, and the imperfect development of liberal ideas during the supremacy of Mr. Canning had apparently given increased impetus to the popular desire for legislation in the same direction. This was particularly the case with the great question of Parliamentary Reform, which every day seemed to assume increased dimensions, while betraying a more hostile aspect towards those who opposed it. It was attempted to set the middle classes against the aristocracy, while the industrious portion of the community were stirred up to active hostility to the Conservative leaders, by representations that the latter were interested in making bread dear and labour cheap. It is impossible for an unprejudiced person to look over the speeches and publications ostensibly addressed at this period to the English people, without a painful conviction of the injustice done to a party to whose exertions, through a period of terrible danger, the country owed its greatness as a nation. A hundred national advantages were forgotten, and many legislative improvements ignored.

¹ "Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert." By the Hon. Charles Langdale.

Only two days after the accession of the new Sovereign, a significant meeting was held at Manchester, of members of various trades unions, preliminary to the creation of a national association to prevent a reduction in wages. It produced many speeches on the ostensible object of this assemblage of delegates, as well as declarations of plans for organizing all branches of industry, with a view to exert influence over their employers, and in time over the Government. They expressed the strength of their body by affirming that by levying a subscription of a penny per man they could raise a fund of £1,683,333.

Such demonstrations were not regarded with perfect complacency by the Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the Administration; and these signs of the times were not overlooked by the Whigs who had supported his Government. An estrangement soon became evident, and a general conviction appeared to be forming that the Duke would not be able to retain his post. While Parliament was sitting a message came from the King, June 29, announcing its speedy dissolution, and, in consequence, recommending the despatch of all business of importance. On the 30th the Duke moved an address to the King in the House of Peers, declaratory of the willingness of that assembly to proceed with such business; after which Earl Grey brought forward an amendment for an adjournment of the House, to afford

proper time for the consideration of the Civil List, and for the establishment of a Regency. It was rejected by nearly two to one—the numbers of the division being 100 to 56. A similar amendment being moved in the Commons by Lord Althorp, the result was 183 to 139. The Whigs had again joined the Opposition.

Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of July, when a speech from the new sovereign congratulated the assembly prematurely—as was soon proved—on the tranquillity prevailing throughout Europe, and expressed the King's satisfaction at the relief afforded to the community at large by the recent repeal of certain taxes, and his congratulations upon the judicial reforms which had been accomplished, as well as for the removal of disqualifications that had pressed on particular classes of his subjects. On the following day Parliament was dissolved, and now a general election was about to be added to other disturbing causes that agitated the entire fabric of society.

King William evidently strove to realize the expectations of the people generally, apparently maintaining by his actions the favourable contrast with his predecessor that had already been established for him. In nothing was this more evident than in the frequency with which his Majesty showed himself in public, particularly in such spectacles as were known to be most popular; but he did not neglect those in which the higher classes were

interested. On the 19th of July the King inspected the Coldstream Guards in St. James's Park, attended by the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, to the great gratification of a large assemblage of spectators of all ranks. On the same day his Majesty invested the Duke of Sussex with the Order of the Thistle, and subsequently held a Court at St. James's Palace, when he received addresses from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

On the following day the King inspected the first and second battalions of the 3rd Regiment of Guards, when the officers were presented to him. He was again attended by the Royal Dukes, as well as by Prince George of Cumberland, the Prince Leopold Frederick of Prussia, the Duke of Wellington, and a brilliant assemblage of field-officers. His Majesty afterwards went to see the exhibition of pictures of the Royal Academy, then at Somerset House. His reception in the Park, as well as in the Gallery, was extremely gratifying, and his affability was the theme of every tongue.

Again, on the 21st, the King inspected two regiments of Life Guards in the Regent's Park: this time his retinue was rendered more brilliant by the addition of the Queen and some of the ladies of her suite. All recollection of the very popular lady who had ten years before appeared in that character, had evidently faded from the popular

mind, and Queen Adelaide was not at all likely to call her to their memory. Their Majesties subsequently honoured the Duke of Wellington with their company to breakfast at Apsley House, after which they returned to St. James's Palace, where the King held his first levee. On the same day he conferred the honour of knighthood on the President of the Royal Academy (Martin Archer Shee), and on that distinguished astronomer, James South, as well as on the Sheriff of London and the Mayor of Liverpool—the opening of a new reign demanding the recognition of the claims to distinction of successful commercial enterprise equally with art and science.

On the following day there was another military spectacle—the inspection by the King of the first and second battalions of the Grenadiers, and of the 9th or Queen's Regiment of Lancers, on the parade in front of the Horse Guards. On the same day was announced in the "Gazette" a general promotion in both services; the restoration to his rank in the army of Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, and his promotion as Lieutenant-General—a measure that gave universal satisfaction; for though this officer had justly forfeited his position by his conduct at a period of great public excitement, his previous services had been very important, and a deprivation for ten years of the emoluments of his military rank was considered a sufficient punishment for that indiscretion.

The announcement of changes in the royal household was not made till the 24th, when the establishment thus appeared:—

Earl of Jersey	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>
Earl of Belfast	<i>Vice-Chamberlain.</i>
Lt.-Gen. Sir Herbert Taylor, } G.C.B.	<i>Private Secretary.</i>
Major-Gen. Wheatley . . .	<i>Keeper of the Privy Purse.</i>
Adm. Sir Charles Pole, Bart., } G.C.B.	<i>Master of the Robes.</i>
Captain Adolphus Fitzclarence, } R.N. ¹	<i>Groom of the Robes.</i>
Major-Gen. Sir A. Barnard, } K.C.B., K.C.H. . . .	<i>Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal.</i>
Sir Philip Sidney, K.C.H. . .	} <i>Equeries.</i>
Lt.-Col. Frederick Fitzclarence ¹	
Lt.-Col. Sir Augustus D'Este, } K.C.H.	
and	
The Hon. J. K. Erskine . . .	
Lord James O'Bryan and the } Marquis of Hastings . . .	<i>Lords of the Bedchamber.</i>
Henry Hope, Esq., and Sir } Hussey Vivian	<i>Grooms of the Bedchamber.</i>
Hon. Sir R. Spencer, K.C.H.	<i>Extra Groom.</i>
The Marquis of Cholmondely . }	<i>Deputy Great Chamberlain of England.</i>

¹ The King's sons.

The principal officers of the Queen's household were—

Earl Howe . . .	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>
Hon. Frederick Cathcart .	<i>Vice-Chamberlain.</i>
Duchess Dowager of Leeds .	<i>Mistress of the Robes.</i>
Marchionesses of Westmeath, Wellesley, and Ely; Coun- tesses Mayo and Brownlow, and Lady Clinton . . .	} <i>Ladies of the Bedchamber.</i>
Lady Caroline Wood . . .	
Ladies William Russell, Isabella Wemyss, Bedingfield, and Gore; Hon. Mrs. Hope and Miss Wilson . . .	} <i>Principal Bedchamber Woman.</i>
Misses Olivia de Roos, Hope Johnstone, Boyle, Eden, F. Sneyd, and Mitchell . . .	
Earl of Errol . . .	<i>Master of the Horse.</i>
Colonel Macdonnel . . .	<i>First Equerry.</i>
Capt. Usher, R.N.; Lt.-Col. Fox	<i>Equerries.</i>
John Barton, Esq. . . .	<i>Treasurer.</i>
W. Horne, Esq. . . .	<i>Attorney-General.</i>
John Williams, Esq. . . .	<i>Solicitor-General.</i>
Capt. G. Pechell, R.N.; Lieut.- Col. Sir Geo. Hoste; Capt. Vincent, R.N. . . .	} <i>Gentlemen Ushers of Privy Chamber.</i>
Lieut.-Col. J. Wilson, Hon. G. Strangeways, Captain Stan- hope, R.N. . . .	
Capt. H. Murray, Mr. R. Cum- berland, and Major Wright	} <i>Quarterly Waiters.</i>

A review on a grand scale was held by the King in Hyde Park on the 26th of the Household Troops, with two troops of horse and two batteries of foot artillery, under the command of General Lord Combermere, and on the following day there was another at Woolwich of the Artillery and Engineers. His Majesty and suite partook of a repast with the officers; after having proposed as a toast "The Royal Artillery," the King gave "The Duke of Wellington, and the Army and Navy combined." It was of course received with due honour. Indeed, it would have been difficult to decide with which of the united services the sovereign had by this time most identified himself. His frequent personal inspections and liberal promotions had elevated him to the highest pinnacle of favour with the army; whilst the navy claimed him not only as their fountain of honour, but as their official chief.

On the 28th, his Majesty held a second levee that was still more thronged with the nobility and persons of distinction than the preceding. And on the following day the King, with whom the Duke of Buckingham had long maintained relations of social intimacy, honoured the Duke with the appointment of Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household—a post that had always been regarded as one of the most covetable distinctions at the disposal of the Sovereign. The possession, however, involved an unusual amount of responsibility; for during the last few years the economists in the

House of Commons had made more than one attack on the domestic expenditure of the Crown, and in consequence of investigations that had followed, it had been proved that much carelessness had prevailed in the arrangements of the royal household with tradespeople. The charges of the latter had been extravagant, the purveyance marked by many abuses, and though there could be no possible objection to the King being served in the best manner with whatever was necessary for his comfort or state, an increasing desire began to manifest itself in Parliament to check any tendency to profusion or waste in the palace, particularly in the department of the Lord Steward.

However disturbed may have been some of the elements of society in England, they bore but a remote resemblance to the effervescence that had long been in operation on the Continent. Our lively neighbours across the Channel had submitted—though not entirely with a good grace—to the rule of Louis XVIII. After his death the impatience exhibited by a large and increasing section of the people of France, of control from a Government they still continued to consider as having been forced upon them by foreigners, became daily more difficult to repress.

Charles X. appeared to have come to the conviction that the time had gone by for attempts at conciliation; and having in August, 1829, appointed as the director of his Government Prince Polignac,

whose extreme views were well known, he made it evident that he was about to inaugurate a coercive policy, with the object of putting down the opposers of his system of rule. This was quite sufficient to excite the hostility of the lower and middle classes and their advocates, who were too well acquainted with the power of the democratic principle in France to entertain apprehensions of the success of any scheme to establish an absolute monarchy under a Bourbon. Opposition was soon exhibited both by precept and example. A large and influential portion of the press commenced the most bitter attacks upon the Government, while everywhere there appeared an intention of withholding the taxes, and of combining to support such persons as might be prosecuted for their non-payment.

At this time the position of Charles X. was full of risk; for although he may have possessed a Ministry willing to carry out his policy, he had neither an army devoted to his service, nor any other powerful body inclined to hazard their lives and possessions by assisting him in establishing measures denounced by a large majority of the nation. The glories of the First Napoleon had not entirely obliterated the marks of devastation which the great revolutionary eruption had left on France, and shrewd observers, though aware that the social volcanoes of Paris had long been inactive, were apprehensive that they might burst forth again with increased violence.

The Chamber of Deputies, having displayed much sympathy with the popular cause, was dissolved; but the election returned an assembly still more opposed to the King. On ascertaining this, and finding that the influence of the press was becoming more and more menacing, the Ministers addressed a report to their Sovereign, recommending a reconstruction of the Chamber on account of its democratic tendency, and the suppression of the press in consequence of its seditious spirit. The document was published in the *Moniteur* on the 26th of July, simultaneously with an Ordinance from the King, intended to realize both its suggestions.

These proceedings had excited the most profound attention in England, where, as usual, the lookers-on were divided into two parties—one supporting the French King, the other as energetically the French people. Indeed, it seems as if the last measure of Charles was as much a suggestion of his English friends as of his responsible advisers; for a review of high reputation in the course of an article on M. Cottu's *De la Nécessité d'une Dictature*, recently published in Paris, contained the following sentence:—

“We therefore hope and trust that the King of France and his present Ministers may succeed, if such be their object, in establishing a censorship on the Press, and likewise in acquiring so decided a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies that its existence as an independent body, capable of beard-

ing the Monarchy as it has recently done, shall be no longer recognised.”¹

The encouragement given by the liberal journals in England to those Frenchmen who had shown the most active opposition to their Government, was equally plainspoken. Indeed, in this country the interest taken in the struggle, was only a little less lively than was felt by the contending parties; for the friends of regal government here would only regard it as a contest of the Crown with Republicanism; whilst our popular orators as strongly insisted on its being the attempt of a long-suffering people to do battle with arbitrary rule.

The principals in this important conflict were unequally matched. The King appears to have read in vain the history of his own country during the last half-century, or, as had been applied to the Bourbons generally after their return from exile, had remembered nothing and forgot nothing, while the opponents of his rule had every chapter of it by heart. The rashness of the former was only made manifest when his weakness had become a fact patent to all Europe. The audacity of the latter grew more conspicuous at every step they took, and proved how certain they were of the substantial support of their countrymen.

The first indication of the feeling with which the obnoxious proclamation was regarded in Paris was the publication in one of the newspapers, signed

¹ “Quarterly Review,” lxxxv. 239.

by twenty-eight editors and proprietors, of a declaration of their sentiments. They boldly stated—"In the situation in which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. We are relieved from obeying. We resist the Government in what concerns ourselves;" and they added suggestively, "It is for France to determine how far her resistance should extend." The required determination was soon expressed.

There was a military force in the metropolis that amounted to 11,500 men, and these were to be employed in carrying out the spirit of the Ordinance. A portion was at once called into requisition to visit the offices of the public journals that had continued to appear, despite the law that had been published for their suppression, and they broke their presses and scattered their type. Such proceedings greatly increased the excitement.

The manufacturers having discharged their workmen, formidable mobs assembled in different parts of the city, shouting cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" because apparently they were under the impression that the Charter had become a dead letter. They did not come into collision with the military till the following day, when attempts were made to disperse them by repeated charges of horse and foot, in which it is said both sabres and firearms were used freely. The first combatant on the popular side was an Englishman named Foulkes, who fired at the soldiers from his apartments in one

of the hotels. This was replied to by a volley, and Foulkes paid for his temerity with his life. He was not the only victim; unfortunately, too, as is usually the case in such commotions, many innocent persons shared his fate.

The blood that had been shed excited the populace to frenzy; and on the night of the 27th, active preparations were made for a deadly struggle. Barricades were raised, and the citizens, assuming the uniform of the National Guard, appeared in great strength, defending them. Marshal Marmont, who had the command of the King's troops, found it necessary on the following morning to make a combined attack; but after a partial success, the fire from the windows and barriers forced him in less than four-and-twenty hours to abandon a position he had gained with very heavy loss. The Marshal sent to the King for instructions, and was directed to attack with masses. Persons of influence proceeded both to the commander and to the Minister, with the object of striving to effect a pacific arrangement; but Prince Polignac would not withdraw the Ordinance, and Marshal Marmont was obliged to follow his instructions.

Paris was declared in a state of siege, and martial law proclaimed, and the night of the 28th passed in increased activity by the entire population of Paris. More barricades were raised, and a much larger force defended them. As early as half-past three in the morning, the tocsin sounded, and the

stern cry *Aux armes!* was raised in all directions. The people flocked to attack the palaces, and were joined by two regiments of the line. After a desperate conflict, the Louvre and the Tuileries were in the hands of the populace, and Marmont, finding his troops beaten at every point, withdrew on the afternoon of the 29th. His losses could not have weakened him much; for, according to the returns, only 578 men were killed and wounded. Of the people, 390 were killed on the spot, and 2500 wounded, of whom 306 died.

The revolution, however, was completed by the Marshal's retreat; for the King fled, and the dissolved Chamber of Deputies met on the 31st. Their first legislative act was to offer the government of the kingdom to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had only been in Paris a few hours; and the Duke having consulted with Prince Talleyrand, accepted the office of Lieutenant-General.

A careful consideration of this three days' struggle cannot but produce the impression that the military employed to defend their Sovereign, performed their duties most inefficiently. It has been said that their commander had no heart in the cause he had undertaken; but this must have been the case with his officers as well as with his troops. Possibly the King had not excited anything resembling military ardour in the army he had concentrated at Paris expressly to support him in the conflict he had provoked; but it was the duty of his Ministers to have

ascertained this, previously to their allowing their Sovereign to stake his throne upon such an issue.

If the combat had been as fierce as it has been represented, the soldiers must have been more roughly handled than they were. With the exception of the defence made by the Swiss, nothing like the resistance which might have been expected from so strong a military force, was made at any point; and when the troops had gained important advantages, it is singular that they should have abandoned them, without making an effort to clear the neighbouring houses of the armed men they contained. Certainly Marshal Marmont did not add to his military reputation by his services to his royal master on these eventful days. Very remarkable was the seasonable appearance of the Duke of Orleans on the scene of action, just in time to become "master of the situation." Some persons went the length of saying that the Duke was better acquainted with the movement that had dethroned his kinsman, and sent him a fugitive from his capital, than appeared on the surface. A few who were acquainted with the secret history of political events in France, ventured to affirm that it was not the first time he had intrigued against the elder branch of his family; but what excited most comment was the announcement of the Duke's association with that veteran actor on revolutionary boards, Prince Talleyrand, immediately before his undertaking the rôle in the great drama that had given him such extraordinary prominence.

Whatever may have been whispered as to the hidden springs of action that had brought about this momentous change, it did not affect in the slightest degree the Duke's confidence in his good fortune. In return for the high office with which he had been invested, he promised largely, particularly dwelling on the future inviolability of the Charter which his predecessor had treated with such indignity. "The Charter," he proclaimed to the Parisians, "will henceforth be a truth." This was quite as rash a proclamation as the Ordinance. The Parisians, however, accepted it with implicit faith. Perhaps they were satisfied of their power to maintain the principle of the Charter, having been so successful in protesting against its violation. Be this as it may, they were in much too good humour with themselves and their new chief to quarrel with his promises; and to do him but justice, he did his best to make this pleasant state of feeling continuous. It was impossible that he could have exerted himself more to humour his countrymen than he did; he anticipated their wishes to render the three days' struggle glorious in the annals of France, and it was not his fault if every Parisian did not consider himself a hero.

Paris, that had seen many changes of government, was in ecstasies with the last transformation, and it was amid universal self-congratulation of the citizens that the Chambers were opened on the 3rd of August by their chief magistrate. Every place

was crowded, for all ranks thronged to see how well they had simplified the imposing machinery that had heretofore been thought essential to the proper working of the French Constitution ; and every eye was directed to the Duke of Orleans.

He fully satisfied public expectation ; for from his place in the Assembly he addressed the French nation in a forcible speech, in which he dwelt emphatically on the recent violation of the Charter, and no less powerfully on the guarantees that had been provided against future encroachments. He was so good as to aver that he was attached to the principle of a free government by inclination as well as by conviction ; but though he did not state how long the attachment had existed, he expressed his readiness to accept the consequences that might arise from the introduction of such a form of government into the management of French affairs.

The orator added : "The past is painful to me. I deplore misfortunes I could have wished to prevent ; but in the midst of this magnanimous transport of the capital, and of all the other French cities, at the sight of order reviving with marvellous promptness after a resistance free from all excesses, a just national pride nerves my heart, and I look forward with confidence to the future destiny of the country. Yes, gentlemen," he continued, "France, which is so dear to me, will be happy and free."

The Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ventured

upon this prophecy as boldly as he had accepted the first place in the Government. "It will show to Europe," he added, "that, solely engaged with its internal prosperity, it loves peace as well as liberty, and desires only the happiness and the repose of its neighbours." The desire was not accomplished any more than the prophecy.

In conclusion, the speaker did not fail to announce the abdication of Charles X., who had fled to Rambouillet, and, after showing a little hesitation, was now *en route* to the sea-coast.

Nothing could be more satisfactory in the way of statements, nothing more liberal in the shape of promises. The French nation listened, commended, and considered the propriety of giving additional powers to their Lieutenant-General, the better to enable him to realize the expectations he had created.

The daily reports published in the English newspapers of the proceedings in Paris, greatly agitated the middle and lower classes in Great Britain. Manufacturers and workmen throughout the empire were constantly called upon to express their approval of the grand and successful demonstration that had been made by their industrious brethren across the Channel. It is impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm which the termination of the struggle excited in the popular mind. The marvellous victory of democracy over monarchy gave such a stimulus to what was called the liberal cause,

that it appeared likely to bear down everything before it.

In vain "the Sailor King" scarcely missed a day in showing himself to his subjects. The attraction of royalty was evidently losing its influence before the more exciting pictures of its destruction that continued to dazzle the vision of the multitude; and "the pomp and circumstance" of mimic war were neglected for recitals of well-defended barricades and gallant attacks of royal palaces, and the pitiless slaughter of royal troops. There were few among the working classes in this country who did not believe, during the excitement these events produced, that such an example might easily be followed, and there were not wanting professional patriots ready to strengthen this assurance.

The King continued to do everything that could be suggested to maintain his popularity, and, to increase the efficiency of the army, authorized some important changes. His Majesty's activity and attention to business were said to astonish every one. It was confidently stated that he rose at six in the morning, and got through despatches and other documents with incredible celerity.

A few changes were made in some of the minor offices of the Government, and Lord Francis Leveson Gower was appointed Secretary at War; but by these the Duke of Wellington did not seem to obtain any material strength; and the general election, with so powerful an exciting cause against the Govern-

ment as the intelligence from the French capital, was thought likely to produce an overpowering Opposition. Negotiations were commenced by each political party to increase its ranks. It is doubtless to such a communication that the writer of the following letter refers in its first two paragraphs :—

RT. HON. CH. W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, 3rd Aug. 1830.

MY DEAR B.

Upon my arrival this evening at Llangedwin I have found the enclosed letter recommended to my best offices not only by Lord C * * * *, whose letter you will see on the same sheet, but by some others of my most respectable friends in Montgomeryshire.

I therefore cannot refuse to forward it to you, and to express the interest which I take in the success of the request which it contains ; but should any cause render a compliance with it improper or inconvenient, you will much oblige me by sending me an *ostensible* line in answer.

The accounts from Paris seem to me one more incomprehensible than another. Rash and precipitate as the King's first step appeared to be, I could not have believed that he could have adopted it without some previous precautions to afford it a chance of success, or at least without being prepared to *payer de sa personne* to support it. But I cannot understand how it is that not a single Royalist account of what has happened, should yet have made its appearance.

Believe me ever,

Most affectionately yours,

CH. W. W.

Lord Grenville had been deeply interested in the struggle that had been going on in Paris, but seems to have entertained a higher opinion of Charles X. than Mr. Wynn has expressed. With a knowledge of the conduct of Louis XVIII. to the Duke of Buckingham, it is singular that he should have laid such stress on the gratitude of his successor to England. Nor could much reliance have been placed on the latter's amicable disposition towards this country. It is plain, too, that Lord Grenville put no faith on the "repose" to neighbouring States which the new Lieutenant-General of France had ventured to promise in his speech to the Chambers.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Aug. 4, 1830.

Certainly this *quiet* termination (quiet at least for the present) is the best thing that could be hoped for in the new French revolution. But the loss of a King there, who was from feelings of personal honour grateful to England, and from religious principle and political interest a sincere lover of peace with us, is a great misfortune to this country; and I fear this new Government in France is as decidedly hostile in its dispositions towards us as the last was friendly.

Have your swans bred this year, so as to enable you to spare us a brace of young ones for our grand *lake* here?

I know of nothing approaching to a *good* kitchen gardener—such a one we have never had—but only flower gardeners and planters.

The desire to possess swans for ornamental water in pleasure grounds, had become general; and Lord Grenville having established a lake in those at Dropmore, was desirous of seeing Wordsworth's well-known verse there realized. He also took much pleasure in his garden—apparently less on account of its floral recommendations than for the cultivation of vegetables and fruits, which he thought not sufficiently attended to. This was not the case in the early history of the garden in this country. After the Conquest the best planters and gardeners in England were the monks, who made their monasteries famous for fruit-trees and herbs. The amateur gardeners of the seventeenth century, particularly Evelyn and Sir William Temple, were equally attentive to the claims of the kitchen garden. Lord Grenville was, however, very fond of flowers, and had always many varieties of the choicest kind blooming in the parterre or in the greenhouse.

The King was always anxious to gratify those around him. Lord Eldon bears his testimony to his goodness of heart. Before his accession, the Prince had been on indifferent terms with the Lord Chancellor, who shortly afterwards went with Dr. Gray, Bishop of Bristol, to the Palace with an address. "After it had been presented," Lord Eldon states, "as I was passing, the King stopped me, and said—

"My lord, political parties and feelings have

run very high, and I am afraid I have made observations upon your lordship, which now—’”

Lord Eldon interrupted him, begging his Majesty's pardon, but could not permit the language of apology to come from the lips of his Sovereign.

A little later in the same year, while the King was staying at Salt Hill, Lord Eldon's youngest son met him by accident while riding out, when he was cordially invited to dine at Windsor Castle.

King William's efforts to render himself popular at the commencement of his reign were not approved of by the sagacious Minister, who dreaded the effect of too much familiarity with Majesty. Writing to Lord Stowell, he says, “I hear the condescensions of the King are beginning to make him unpopular. In that station such familiarity must produce the destruction of respect. If the people don't continue to think a king somewhat more than a man, they will soon find out that he is not an object of that high respect which is absolutely necessary to the utility of his character.”

A more pleasing instance of the King's readiness to forget unpleasant circumstances was displayed by him on coming to the throne. The head of George IV.'s last Administration was the Duke of Wellington, who in his official capacity had found it necessary to express something very like censure on certain proceedings of the Duke of Clarence when Lord High Admiral. So far from this creating any unkind feeling against the Duke, nothing could

be more cordial than the King's manner towards him when desiring him and his colleagues to retain their posts ; and during his reign, when in any difficulty, if there was one person in the kingdom to whom he was desirous of referring for advice, it was to the Duke of Wellington.

The impression created on the King's mind by the French revolution was a painful one. Though ready to acknowledge the new state of things, and acquiescing cheerfully in recognising the position of the Duke of Orleans, he could not help feeling some sympathy for the family of the unfortunate Charles X. A safe asylum they were sure to find in England, and their arrival was looked for both by the King and his Ministers with considerable anxiety.

CHAPTER II.

[1830.]

PROCEEDINGS IN FRANCE—THE THRONE OFFERED TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS—ARRIVAL OF CHARLES X. IN ENGLAND—EXPENSES IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LIBERALS—GENERAL ELECTION—THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—SIR HENRY WATKYN WILLIAMS WYNN—REFORM IN THE LORD STEWARD'S DEPARTMENT—LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH.

CHAPTER II.

THE great drama that had been performing in France was not quite played out. The Chamber of Deputies had continued its sittings, and had discussed many interesting subjects; but the most important portion of their labours had been devoted to the consideration of a fit successor to the vacant throne of France. A large majority decided in favour of the claims of their Lieutenant-General, and the President, accompanied by the entire Assembly, waited on his Royal Highness at the Palais Royale, to offer the throne in *perpetuity* to him and his male descendants. In reply, the Duke of Orleans is stated to have said, that he received the appointment with profound emotion; and accepted it as an expression of the national will, which, he assured his auditors, was conformable to the political principles he had always professed.

After this, everything in favour of the new dynasty went on as merrily as a marriage bell; while the old one and its adherents were striving hard to get to a place of safety. Charles X. and his family were permitted to embark from Cher-

bourg. His Ministers, Peyronnet and De Chaulauze, were overtaken at Tours, and committed to prison; the same adverse fate befalling Prince Polignac; but Baron d'Haussez contrived to get on board a fishing-boat at Dieppe, and after having been four nights at sea, reached the coast of Sussex on the 6th of August. The arrival of the fugitive King had for some days been expected, and a few friends in England appear to have been earnest in their endeavours to secure the exile a proper asylum.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Ashridge, 12 Aug. 1830.

MY DEAREST DUKE,

An excursion to this place for two or three days from Dropmore has a little retarded my answer to yours of the 8th, which I received just as I was coming hither. My brother, however well disposed in imagination to a Stowe visit, is in truth too much of an invalid to undertake to sleep in any bed but his own. Of Elizabeth [Lady Carysfort] there might be better hopes, but that she is, I believe, all but on the wing for Castle Hill; so that the only chance that she and Lady Wms. [Lady Williams Wynne] would have of profiting of your invitation would be on their return in the autumn, if you should happen to be there at that time. For myself, I will certainly pass three or four days with you towards the 26th or 27th inst., of which I will give you more distinct notice when I can fix the positive day. I trust I have no chance of running against kings, princes, or grandees at that time.

I was quite astounded to hear that Dr. Lee is gone to

Southampton to offer Hartwell to Charles X.; the Dr. being, I hope, the only man in England who has any wish to see him in our land. For myself, I own I have quite a dread of his being allowed to come here. It is painful to think of refusing an asylum to any who ask it, but persuaded as I am that his stay here would promote in France a jealousy that would soon kindle into a war, I cannot think the duty of hospitality should place us in so fearful a risk. Our first duty is to the peace and tranquillity of our own country. This seems to be so entirely the opinion of every individual whom I have seen, that I do hope that general cry will drown the voice of Dr. Lee and his invitation to Hartwell. Shall we escape war even so? Look at Belgium. See the chance of republican Spain if France ends in a republic. I see nothing but fear. Love to the dear Duchess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

THOS. GRENVILLE.

The ex-King of France arrived at Spithead on the 17th, and an offer having been made in the name of Cardinal Weld, of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, Charles X. accepted it, and having subsequently landed at Poole, with his family and suite, they proceeded in four carriages to the park, and he was received at the Castle by the cardinal's brother. These exiles comprised the King,¹ under the travelling name of the Duke of Milan; the Duke de Luxembourg, Captain of the Life Guards; Baron

¹ He subsequently took up his residence at Holyrood Palace; but after a short sojourn there left England for the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, where he remained till his death.

O'Hagerty, Master of the Horse; Baron Kingzenger, Secretary; and Dr. Bougon, Physician; Princess Maria Theresa Louisa; the Duchesses d'Angouleme, de Berri, and de Goutaud; Countesses St. Maur, Charette, and Murnar; Counts Mignard, de Brissac, de Charette, de Martras, and de Bouillie; the Duc de Bourdeaux, and General Baron de Damas.

Numerous subordinates taxed the accommodations of Lulworth Castle, but these proved equal to the demand, and every one appeared as comfortable as French people of family could make themselves under such a marked change of circumstances, without being in the slightest degree aware of the perturbation their domiciliation on English ground created in several English statesmen; for Mr. Thomas Grenville was not alone in his fears of a war with France arising out of this offer of a shelter to their fugitive sovereign.

The Treasurer of his late Majesty's Household had the good fortune to be retained in his position. This appears to have been owing to the new King's regard for the Duke of Buckingham, for whom his Majesty seemed never tired of showing the kindest consideration. An example of the warmth of this feeling is shown in the following letter :—

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE, G.C.H., TO THE
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 16, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King, in making out a list of persons to dine at Windsor Castle on the 21st (his Majesty's birthday), ordered me to invite your Grace, saying, "I wish you to tell the Duke I shall be most happy to see him; but being settled at Stowe, if he should have made any arrangement for that day, or if he should have the slightest apprehension of gout, I beg he will have no difficulty in making his excuses. I would not invite so large a company without including the Duke of Buckingham, but he must not consider it *an order*. I really wish him to consult entirely his own convenience." This morning I received the enclosed from Lord Clinton.¹ I have a bed very much at your service, and we shall be most delighted to see you.

I think you had better write your answer to Sir Frederick Watson, who is at Windsor. The dress is frock, but whether mourning is put off for the day I cannot say. The invitations already amount to nearly ninety persons. Since his Majesty has been at Windsor there have seldom been less than forty at dinner. I am in dread at the expense, but Watson assures me that every attention is paid to keep down expense, and at the same time to preserve regularity in our accounts.

Ever, my dear Duke, very faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—Let me know by a line if you come here.

William IV. was anxious that his expenses should

¹ The enclosure has not been preserved.

be on as moderate a scale as possible. This, coupled with apprehensions of parliamentary comments, made the Treasurer of the Household watch any extraordinary disbursements with uneasiness. He writes on this subject more than once, to bring such points under the attention of the Lord Steward. The Duke, however, was more fortunate in this respect than his predecessor had been, and by a proper superintendence, contrived to escape everything resembling censure. The following is in answer to one of his invitations :—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, 22 August, 1830.

I can now propose myself to you, my dear Duke, at Stowe for Saturday next, the 28th inst., and if this should suit you I will trouble you to let this note be left at the Cobham Arms, that they may send me a pair of horses to Winslow.

I find no other news from Lord Clare, who came here yesterday, except of the intended residence of Charles X. and his family at Lulworth. I am too full of fears for my own country to consent to risk its peace for the sake of any French King upon his throne or at the foot of it; and therefore I think this very bad news, being strongly impressed with the belief that the residence of Charles X. in this country will immediately produce great jealousies and heartburnings in France, and ultimately blow up into war. The only chance of avoiding it might be by an early and frank acknowledgment of their new King, and even that will not appease the natural suspicions which France

will entertain at seeing their ex-King, son, and grandson under the protection of this country with the D. of W. the Minister of it. What answer will the Duke give when the French Government follow the example that we set them of requiring them to send away the claimant of our Crown? But there is no end of writing on this fearful subject, and we shall have time enough to talk it over in the three or four days that I hope to pass with you.

Let me have a line here that I may know whether my proposal suits you.

Yours ever most affectionately,

THOS. GRENVILLE.

P.S.—My brother is as usual.

7 P.M.—It is not till this moment that Lady G. has told me of your attack and of C.'s satisfactory answer to her inquiry. I rejoice much in seeing that you are so well reported of, and as I hope you have left your room, I will certainly come on Saturday, unless I hear from you to the contrary.

It will be seen from the foregoing, that the writer still laboured under apprehensions that the hospitality extended to the ex-King of France would be considered by his revolted subjects as a *casus belli*. This was, however, a needless alarm. The Duke of Orleans had profited by the same hospitality, and was not likely to recommend France to go to war with such a country as England, because it had once more become an asylum for a French Sovereign.

Public meetings continued to be held in various

parts of England, to express sympathy with the French people. One was held in the Metropolis, at the City of London Tavern, Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P., in the chair; at another, held the next day at the Freemasons' Tavern, Sir Francis Burdett presided. Tri-coloured ribbons or cockades were worn by some of the persons present, and the sentiments expressed were equally expressive of revolutionary principles. Liverpool, Manchester, and Edinburgh, followed the example thus set them, and at all the meetings an appeal was made on behalf of the widows and orphans that had been made during the contest, by the deaths of those who had fallen on the popular side—the families impoverished by the loss of the fathers who had been slain in defence of their Sovereign were completely ignored.

While much praise was spoken in favour of popular demonstrations, a good deal of abuse was lavished on the expenses of royalty. The Treasurer of the Royal Household became anxious to restrain the expenditure of the Lord Steward's department as much as possible. The Government readily listened to the cry for economy, and were evidently meditating some measure of retrenchment.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 26, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I hope you are better. The King has frequently inquired after you, and regretted very much the cause of your absence.

The entertainments which continue, and are likely to do so, naturally engage our attention with regard to expense, and most particularly so from the hints which we receive from Government in the late correspondence from the Treasury, which you have seen. It is clear that the Treasury is preparing a statement of the Civil List for the meeting of Parliament, and in your return of the state of the Lord Steward's department I am extremely anxious, and have urged this on Watson and Marable, that the fullest possible explanation should be made by the Lord Steward in his return—that is, an explanation not only of the denomination of the individual's office and salary, but of the duties he performs, wherever such duties may be questionable. With this view I have directed Marable,¹ before he sends the return to you for approbation, to insert opposite the head called "Compensation allowances to officers who have no duties to perform," and which in the aggregate amounts to a sum of £1767, to state the name of the individual, when the allowance was granted, for what services, and what is his or her present situation; also in every other part of the return to enter into as much detail for the purpose of giving information as can well be done.

I have also desired that Watson² would prepare a letter for your consideration to accompany this return, stating

¹ He held at this time the post of clerk of the kitchen.

² Sir Frederick Watson, an officer of the household.

our opinion as to the expenses naturally devolving on your department, what prospect we have of future expenses, judging and stating the grounds of judgment from expenses incurred since the accession of his present Majesty. All this I submit to you as absolutely necessary, first, for your character and that of the Board, and next, in fairness towards the Government who will have to fight the battle, and therefore must be fully and completely seconded and supported by us. As far as we can at present see to expenses incurred, it really appears (and we have examined, that is, Watson and myself, every possible charge) that in the first month of this reign, notwithstanding all the dinners and entertainments, that our expenditure has not been equal to that of the corresponding month of last year. In truth, dinners are not the most alarming of expenses, provided we can but maintain some degree of honesty in the servants and purveyors; and as yet we have no reason to distrust our new men, most particularly Macfarlane.

We shall transmit you a minute for your consideration, which we think advisable, on the subject of fees received in the Lord Steward's department on warrants granted on the appointment of servants, as in distinction to warrants granted to tradesmen.

Having said all this on our office affairs, I add a few lines on the state of the Government, and on the horrible events occurring in France, and which daily assume a more alarming aspect. Our elections terminated, although they afford a better, or I should say an increased support in point of numbers to the Government, afford but very little prospect of amendment in the character or power of the Ministry. Whatever overtures have been made have failed, and it is clear there is no strength or weight in

their favour in the country. Those candidates who stood on the support of Government found no advantage from it, but on the contrary were invariably obliged to abandon such ground for the ground of reform and economy, and are committed in almost every instance to conditional engagement on these points. The great hope of the Government rests on the violent and inflammatory manner in which the Radical Whigs are urging on the cry of the French revolutionists, and the excess to which these latter are pursuing their object. This may once more rouse the alarm of the more moderate Whigs and Ultra Tories, and so induce them for their own security to rally round the Government; but even under these circumstances it is a very different House of Commons and very different leaders from what existed in the time of Pitt.

I hear the Allied Powers have formed, or are forming, a new treaty, binding themselves to perfect neutrality with regard to the internal state of France, acknowledging the new King, but uniting in general defence and attack, in case of aggression on the part of France to any one of these united Powers. One can hardly see the possibility of France going on in the hands, as she now appears to be, of a few violent Republicans without aggression on other Powers very shortly taking place. Nothing can be more subdued than the tone and policy of our Ministry, and this cannot afford surprise. Adieu, my dear Duke. I hope this will find you better.

Very faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The Government, as Sir William Fremantle states, lost ground by the election. On the popular interest Mr. Brougham was elected on the 5th of

August for the county of York; Mr. Joseph Hume was returned for Middlesex; Liverpool re-elected Mr. Huskisson and General Gascoyne; and in many of the leading constituencies the same hostility to the Ministers was displayed. Three members of the family of Sir Robert Peel, as well as Mr. John Wilson Croker, lost their elections. The Duke of Wellington became an object of hustings declamation; and to excite the ill-will of the multitude it was confidently declared that he had exercised his influence with Charles X. to obtain the post of Prime Minister for Prince Polignac; and that if the Duke had not suggested the policy that had followed his appointment, he had approved of it. There was not the slightest ground for such a statement, but it answered the purpose for which it had been made.

The next communication is from a nobleman of the highest character, who had filled several diplomatic appointments of the first class with acknowledged ability, but being one of the most distinguished members of the political party it was the object of their opponents to put down, that they might attain influence at their expense, he became obnoxious to popular censure. He published several works that were favourably received, particularly a narrative of the War in the Peninsula, during which he held a high cavalry command, and another of the Campaigns in the North of Europe, where he also filled an important post, and in both these

positions displayed remarkable diplomatic and military talent. He held a large property in Durham, where his spirit of enterprise had effected important improvements, of which the construction of the town and harbour of Seaham deserves especial notice. He also possessed large and valuable estates in the north of Ireland, inherited from his brother, the late marquis, better known as Lord Castlereagh, and in both countries was highly popular as a landlord.¹

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Mount Stewart, August 28, 1830.

I regret very sincerely, my dear Duke, that that cursed enemy the gout has attacked you since we parted. I believe want of constant exercise in the air, and anxiety of mind, lead to most diseases of the stomach and frame. The last few weeks in London produced the causes which attack all men, as life advances. I hope you will soon be enabled to send me better accounts of yourself, which I shall look for with much anxiety.

I contemplate (as you do) the events in France with great dismay, and the wisest politician can little foresee what may grow out of the unsettled state of affairs in which Europe by these events is plunged. The case stands differently now from the former Revolution. A

¹ Lord Londonderry subsequently wrote an able pamphlet in reply to an attack on Lord Castlereagh, published by Lord Brougham, and edited the official correspondence of his brother, in twelve volumes, from the originals in his possession. At his own expense he procured a statue carved in marble, by John Evan Thomas, F.S.A., of Lord Castlereagh, to be placed over his grave in Westminster Abbey.

change of dynasty does not endanger neighbouring States like the cry of Liberty, Equality, or Death ; and all order or capability of fulfilling the relations of amity and peace towards England is not yet annihilated, although I admit there are such prognostics in the elements that I tremble for what may ensue. The alterations in the Charter are fearful. The new King of the French is curtailed of *all* power. There seems no religion, and a Garde Nationale, who appoint their own officers, will place *France virtually* under a republican code with the effigy of a King. Still, with *that effigy* we must go on, for we have ourselves largely of late embraced that course which makes any other impossible. We cannot fight in 1830 to replace a Bourbon on the throne, as England did in 1814. That day is past. I would rather not enter into my view of all that has changed our political system, nor whether it could have been avoided.

Mr. Canning's policy opened the ball of our new code, and whether we have continued in that track or done what we could to uphold those solid principles which saved the country and placed us on a pinnacle to direct the Continent, it moots not now to argue. The question is, How will the King's Government now go on, and upon what system will they proceed ?

I do not think there is any difference in their *dramatis personæ*, nor much in their additional strength since we talked together and since you took office ; and I know what your opinions were at that time.

I am free to admit the state of France, the dread of the revolutionary spirit that is abroad, the success of Radical Reformers and economists in the elections, will make many who have the feelings (that I have) pause in their course, and POSSIBLY ACT VERY

DIFFERENTLY from what they would have done had these unaccountable events not ensued. But after all, what is the Duke of Orleans' conduct but what you see every day introduced now in England amongst dearest friends and closest connexions? Every one seems alone to look to *himself*, and I can no more condemn Louis Philippe I. than many who from similar shades of proceeding bask in the sunshine of our royal and ministerial favour.

Alas, my dear Duke, it is very difficult under all that has occurred to know how to act; and humble individual as I am, I cannot bear that any friend should make such an appeal as you do to me in vain. You judge *all* my sentiments and every feeling of my mind correctly; but I am not free from the faults of human nature, and when during near three years I have been totally neglected by that *one* man whom you so justly eulogize for his former deeds—a man whom I would have died to serve—it is not in me to be passive; and when cast off by an old friend, and by one who from years and services should have known me (and who when out of office publicly in Durham so often eulogized my means and energies), it is more than romantic not to be mortified, and that feeling, in spite of my best efforts, produces *éloignement*.

To be candid, all men and all parties act now-a-days as they are *appreciated*, because if party barriers are thrown down and intimacies go for nought, public men who run the career of ambition, power, and place, endeavour to arrive at the goal, whoever may be Minister; when in simple truth, such has been the amalgamation, that there is no reason to believe Lord Grey or any other man would not uphold *order, legitimacy*, and the aristocracy as well as the present Government have done, who have, in my mind, alas! yielded far too much to liberality, reform,

and *Hume's supremacy*. To resume, however, this long prose, I can only say that, if I saw that disposition to put any value upon me which I think from a thousand circumstances I have a just claim to, every private affection leads me to the D. of W., although my feeble nature does not allow me to brook with neglect, and see favours on others which I know and feel I have as equally deserved.

I am happy to tell you our Down election is over to-day, and my son is triumphant, and our position has enabled us to bring in Lord Arthur Hill. Let me hear from you, my dear Duke. I conclude from all the papers the Duke of Cambridge has the Blues.

Lord Londonderry, in his reference to the Duke of Wellington, expresses the natural feelings of a man of that high sense of honour his lordship was known to possess; but it seems as though he had found some difficulty in understanding the change in his position which had been produced by the death of his eminent brother. While the Foreign Secretary was the most influential member of the Cabinet, Lord Stewart was sure to be regarded by the Duke as the nearest relative of a statesman to whom he must have felt he owed important obligations; but the Duke, the head of a subsequent Government, and Lord Castlereagh and his influence removed entirely from the scene, Lord Londonderry, possessed only of his talents and parliamentary influence, would be weighed in a balance that admitted of very little bias either from friendship or

gratitude. In high places as in low, what promises to be most advantageous is sure to be considered most desirable. Possibly the Minister may have thought that he could not afford in such critical times to identify his policy with the views of which his friend was considered the advocate. He may even then have been anxious to carry forward liberal measures, if they could be done with safety; for though the Duke expressed himself forcibly against the violent political changes contemplated by Reformers, his ministerial antecedents afforded grounds for supposing that, should the necessity of any important change be brought under his consideration, he would surrender his own opinions, and forward the desired policy with all his party influence and individual energy of character. The care with which he systematically held himself aloof as much as possible from that section of the Conservatives known as the "Ultras," suggests the inference that he kept in view a contingency by which he could not have profited had he again formed a connexion with those who had separated themselves from his Government when he brought forward the measure for the emancipation of the Catholics. The reader, from subsequent communications, will be enabled to come to his own conclusions on this point.

We must now, however, direct his attention to other arrangements, by means of the following communication from a meritorious public servant,

whose diplomatic services he considered entitled him to advancement. Whatever may be thought of his claims to promotion, his manly avowal of obligation indicates his readiness to acknowledge the influence to which he owed his present honourable position. We regret to have to state that such instances of gratitude were rare, the avowal being generally in anticipation, not in acknowledgment, of favour.

SIR HENRY W. WILLIAMS WYNN TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Copenhagen, Aug. 23.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I ought before now to have congratulated you on your new appointment, which gave me great pleasure ; but what has given me still more is that, as far as I can judge from your frequent attendance, you appear to have *stood* the work very well.

In consequence of Taylor's having informed me that it was his intention to give up Berlin, I applied some weeks ago to Lord Aberdeen for that mission. I have not yet received any answer from him, but I cannot be surprised at it when I consider that in the meantime all the recent events have occurred in France, which must have pretty well occupied both the mind and fingers of our chief. Though I was well aware that you would kindly assist me in this, or any other object I had in view, I did not apply to you, as I thought that a standing of thirty-two years, which made me the *oldest* minister now employed, gave me a fair claim for promotion independent of all interest, and the more so as Lord Aberdeen himself admitted it when I last saw him previous to my leaving England.

I will not now trespass on your kindness to back my application; but as you have probably frequent opportunities of seeing Lord Aberdeen, you would perhaps have the goodness in conversation to ask him how he feels disposed towards me, and how far his engagements allow him to meet my wishes. Previous to my leaving England it was generally believed that the embassy to Brussels was to be reduced to a mission, and with this idea I mentioned to Lord A. how much I should wish to go there. He neither *accepted nor rejected* me, but merely said that nothing was yet finally settled respecting the new diplomatic arrangements. As Berlin is not an agreeable residence, and as the increased salary by no means covers the difference of expenses, I should make a sacrifice both of comfort and pocket in going there. Still as it is a step, it is my duty to endeavour to obtain it. I should be too happy to be allowed to remain here with a promise of Brussels whenever it is vacant. I will no longer bore you with my present concerns, and will only repeat what I have great pleasure always in doing—my gratitude for your kindness, to which I owe the situation where I now am, and from whence, were I only to consult my own personal comfort, I should not wish to move.

Was there ever anything in history to be compared to the rapidity and order of the late revolution in France? I did not give a French mob credit for having learnt so much from the experience of their fathers. It is a much more severe blow to the cause of kings, as in the late revolution there can be scarcely two opinions as to the side on which the *right* is. I understand that the German universities are already beginning to pluck up their heads, and having their Polytechnic Allies under their lee, they will not be so easily kept down as heretofore. If the

Portuguese do not take this opportunity to get rid of Miguel, they are more despicable than I ever take them to be.

I am terribly rheumatic, and you will have almost as much difficulty in reading this scrawl as I have in writing it.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours affectionately,

H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Affairs of great importance were daily pressing on the Duke of Buckingham's attention, among which must be classed the contemplated arrangements for a reform in his department of the royal household.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 6, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I sincerely hope this will find you better, and grieve to find you have been so very seriously ill. I had flattered myself it was only an attack of gout, which God knows must be bad enough; but I find it was accompanied by much more serious and painful symptoms than you have ever suffered under from former attacks. I hope the papers tell truth when they announce you much better, and shall feel delighted if you can employ any one to confirm it to me.

I will not trouble you with business, but will merely say that I was in town yesterday to meet Watson, when two letters were framed as copies to be sent to Stowe for your consideration, in answer to the two which were received from the Treasury, and which you have seen. The

detailed state of the Lord Steward's department is also nearly completed, to accompany one of these letters, and which will be submitted to you for your previous consideration and correction if found necessary.

I will say no more at present, though I shall have occasion to do so on these points when you are better.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Always very faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

All went on favourably in Paris. There was not the slightest chance of the French people taking umbrage at the hospitality which England had extended to their dethroned Sovereign. Louis Philippe was not only promptly acknowledged as "King of the French" by the Government of the Duke of Wellington, but our Ambassador, Lord Stuart de Rothsay, had publicly proceeded on the first of September from his hotel to the King's Palace, accompanied by his secretaries, with as much state as could be assumed for the occasion.

As England took the lead of the European Governments in this recognition, it was regarded by the new monarch and his subjects with equal gratification; and the praise that had been bestowed upon the heroes in the struggle, was as gratefully received as the money that had been subscribed for its victims. To show the *entente cordiale* that was now generally cultivated, a grand banquet was given by the Prefect and Municipality of the Capital at

the *Maison de Ville*, at which General Lafayette and other celebrated leaders in the recent revolution attended. Dr. Bowring, who had been the bearer of an English address from a London meeting, and such Englishmen as happened then to be in Paris, were invited. Everything was there said and done that could increase the harmony existing between the two nations. A similar banquet was given by the first legion, and one of the toasts was, "The English nation—thanks for their generous exertions, and peace and union with them for ever."

Louis Philippe was in the honeymoon of his political union with the French people. Everything appeared to have prospered with him. There seemed perpetual sunshine on his path within his own territories, and beyond them the atmosphere was undisturbed by a single cloud—that is to say, as far as his horizon extended. Clear, however, as seemed the sky, it was "the uncertain glory of an April day." The air was charged with electricity, and the clouds clearing off from the scene of the late tempest, were scudding along in different directions, lowering ominously over the neighbouring states. This, however, was no concern of the King of the French; probably was a source of secret satisfaction, as in whatever country the storm broke, it could not influence his position, while it would afford employment to its rulers that would prevent them in any way interfering with him.

Halcyon days these were to the King of the

French, and he made the most of them. In the affluence of his gratification he forget the past. But what could there be in the crown that had been worn by Napoleon, to remind him of his once humble office of usher in a school? In the fulness of his content he thought not of the future. But where amid the homage of the great French Empire, was he to see the image of the fugitive "Mr. Smith?"



CHAPTER III.

[1830.]

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE—THEIR EFFECT IN ENGLAND
—THE COLONELCY OF THE HORSE GUARDS—OPENING OF THE
BIRMINGHAM RAILWAY—TERRIBLE DEATH OF MR. HUSKISSON—
HIS POLITICAL CAREER—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—DISAPPOINT-
MENT OF THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY—WILLIAM IV. AND HIS
GUESTS—ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD—AGRARIAN
DISTURBANCES IN KENT—AGITATION FOR REPEAL OF THE UNION
IN IRELAND.



CHAPTER III.

It was a saying of the First Napoleon, that a revolution in France was a revolution in Europe ; and so it proved on this occasion. As the news of the grand democratic triumph spread to other nations it created a circle of agitation that threatened to extend to all the continental monarchies. The first attempt at imitation occurred in Belgium. All the principal towns partook of the movement, which commenced at Brussels, where a Burgher Guard shortly displaced the troops of the King of the Netherlands. A conflict ensued, the Royal Guards were defeated, and notwithstanding the personal exertions of the Prince of Orange to reconcile the Flemish people to the rule of his dynasty, a separation of Belgium from Holland was insisted on. Alarming riots broke out in several places ; the people appealed to arms wherever they could get possession of them ; and the most bitter feeling of animosity was created between the Flemish and Dutch.

About the same period another revolutionary outbreak commenced at Brunswick, whence the reigning

Duke, after a fierce contest with the citizens, was obliged to fly for his life, his troops having been defeated and his castle set on fire. At Dresden the populace rose and drove the military out of the town, and the King of Saxony was obliged to resign his crown, which descended to his nephew, Prince Frederick, after his father had renounced his right of succession in his favour. Disturbances of a similar nature broke out at Hesse Cassel, Chemnitz, Berlin, Hamburgh, Hesse Darmstadt, and other large towns; indeed, the revolutionary wave was spreading rapidly over the German Continent; while in the Peninsula there was so much excitement that a repetition of the Paris revolution was daily expected both in Madrid and Lisbon.

In England the enthusiasm for the "Three Glorious Days" had not abated; indeed, the most strenuous efforts were made by a certain class of political partisans to maintain it, to advance their own objects; but thoughtful persons observed the state of the Continent with alarm; and a closer union was being established among those who had most to lose and nothing to gain by similar occurrences in this country.

The Duke of Wellington appears to have become aware of the Marquis of Londonderry's sense of neglect; and the Duke of Buckingham, who was always ready to exercise any political influence he might possess for the benefit of his friends, and particularly for one to whom he was sincerely

attached, endeavoured to bring about a better understanding between the latter and the Prime Minister than had existed for some years. Lord Londonderry, who had distinguished himself as a dashing cavalry officer previously to his diplomatic career, like other officers of his standing holding the same rank in the service, naturally much desired the colonelcy of one of the cavalry regiments of the Household Brigade. It is probable that he had already mentioned his wishes to the Duke of Buckingham; but in the following communication he expresses himself on the subject without the slightest attempt at reserve.

It should be borne in mind that the military services of the Marquis when with the allied army in the north of Europe, during the construction of that grand combination that forced Napoleon back to his own dominions, and subsequently to his little sovereignty at Elba, were most important. There is no doubt that his personal influence kept Bernadotte faithful when his proceedings had become tainted with suspicion. He had also exhibited extraordinary tact and firmness during the difficult negotiations at Chatillon that the representatives of the Allies had carried on with Caulaincourt, while his Imperial master was standing at bay with his pursuers within his own frontiers.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

Mount Stewart, Sept. 14, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Not having heard from you for some time, and seeing a report in the papers of your having been ill, I am very desirous of hearing from yourself a good account of your convalescence.

I received to-day the enclosed note¹ from the member for New Romney. I know not what credit to give to this rumour; but it seems strange to me that so long a period has elapsed without anything having been determined on with respect to this very high military distinction.

I own, when I contemplate all that has occurred lately in France, and what seems to be progressing at home, my natural feelings and never-swerving principles would lead me more distinctly than ever to give support to any regular existing Government protected by the King; and it has occurred to me, my dear Duke, from your perfect knowledge of these my principles and the party I can influence, that you might have an opportunity of stating this to the Duke in a manner that could not look like unnecessarily throwing myself at his head with a view to the object which I do not deny to you would be highly gratifying to me, but which would give an earnest of my principles in times of pressing necessity; and I cannot but flatter myself you would be disposed to support me in a military object of such great gratification, more especially as, when I recollect what passed previous to our leaving London, I believe there would be facilities in the highest quarter if the Duke was really affectionately disposed towards me.

¹ Not preserved.

I conceive you could by letter, even if you did not see the Duke, very naturally manage this business, and I feel satisfied, from the long interval that has elapsed, that the arrangements are not concluded with regard to the regiment; and it possibly may have been doubted what line in any event I should be inclined to take, but which late events have of themselves, with consistency to principles, much needed.

Pray let me hear on this subject as soon as possible, and believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

A terrible disaster marked the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. This important work having been completed, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, and other eminent public characters, were invited to witness the opening of the line for traffic. They went in different carriages from Liverpool, but the train stopping for fuel at Parkfield, they alighted; and Mr. William Holmes, M.P., thinking this a good opportunity for bringing the estranged Ministers once more in friendly connexion, led Mr. Huskisson towards the Duke, who, immediately he perceived his approach, held out his hand, and gave his old colleague a most cordial reception. One of the engines now advancing amid a general cry of "Get in!" seems to have confused Mr. Huskisson: before he could get to a place of safety he was knocked down, and the engine passed over his

thigh, lacerating the limb so much that he died in a few hours.

The right honourable gentleman whose public services were thus terminated, appears to have commenced his political career at Paris in the height of the first Revolution. He was not only present at the taking of the Bastile, but at a sitting of the Jacobin Club, in company with Mr. Windham, Lord Chichester, and Sir John Thomas Stanley, of Cheshire.¹ It has been stated that at the Club he made a speech, and identified himself with the principles then and there avowed, but this he subsequently denied; and as he shortly afterwards accepted the post of Private Secretary to the English Ambassador at Paris (Lord Gower), it is likely that his republicanism, if thus exhibited, was not very genuine. He returned to England in 1792, soon after which he accepted employment from Mr. Dundas, and in 1795 succeeded Sir Evan Nepean as Under-Secretary of State. At the general election in the following year he was returned to Parliament for Morpeth.

Like his father, who farmed on a large scale, Mr. Huskisson was fond of agricultural pursuits; and in the year 1800, having purchased of Hayley, the biographer of Cowper, an estate of three hundred acres, at Earham, near Chichester, in Sussex, he devoted himself to its improvement, living here with his wife, the youngest daughter of Admiral

¹ "Gentleman's Magazine," c. 366.

Milbank, whom he had married the preceding year. He lost his post when Mr. Pitt retired from the Government in 1801, but obtained a pension of £1200 a-year, which made his position easy for life.

Another general election occurred in the following year; but after an unsuccessful contest for Dover he remained out of Parliament till the year 1804, when, there having been a double return, he was declared by a Parliamentary Committee the sitting member for the borough of Liskeard. On the same day (May 15) Mr. Pitt returned to political power, and appointed him one of the Secretaries of the Treasury. He was re-elected for Liskeard in 1806, but went into Opposition when Mr. Fox joined the Administration. Under Mr. Perceval he accepted the same post, and was returned for Harwich in 1807, but two years later retired with Mr. Canning. He was returned for Chichester in the years 1812, 1818, and 1820, during which period the emoluments of office increased considerably. In 1812 he became colonial agent for Ceylon, with £4000 a-year; and two years subsequently was sworn of the Privy Council, when he received the appointment of Commissioner of the Woods and Forests.

From this time he took a prominent part in every important discussion, and succeeded Mr. Canning as representative of Liverpool in 1822. In the following January he became Treasurer of the Navy, and a few months later President of the Board of Trade. On the formation of Lord Gode-

rich's Administration, after the death of Mr. Canning, he accepted the office of Colonial Secretary, in which post he was retained by the Duke of Wellington. He had had a misunderstanding with Lord Goderich, but his successor proved a much more difficult superior; and the prompt manner in which Mr. Huskisson's too hasty resignation in the year 1828 was accepted by the Duke, must have been to the former anything but gratifying.

Mr. Huskisson had come before the public as an author; but it was a contribution to politics rather than to literature, for it was with a pamphlet on the Bullion Question, published in the year 1810, with the title, "The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined."

Having been born on the 11th of March, 1770, he was in his sixty-first year at the time of his melancholy death. Its awful suddenness excited general sympathy, and his funeral at Liverpool was attended by nearly twenty thousand persons. Among the mourners were the Mayor of Liverpool (Sir G. Drinkwater), Lords Stanley, Gower, Granville, Colvill, and Sandon; Sir Stratford Canning, Sir John Tobin, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Stanley, M.P., Mr. Patten, M.P., Mr. Denison, Mr. Doherty, Mr. Littleton, M.P., Mr. Greene, M.P., and Mr. Booth Wilbraham.

Many persons of opposite politics were, like Lord Grenville, sensibly affected by this startling incident, and a public subscription for a monument to

Mr. Huskisson's memory was promptly commenced. Of the liberal party he deserved especial remembrance, as one of the earliest advocates of free trade. He was sensible and lucid in his parliamentary speeches, but never ranked as an orator of the first class.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sept. 21, 1830.

You will have heard from Lady G. that the swans arrived here in excellent condition, and are thought very ornamental.

They made some efforts in their first two or three days here to *walk* away from us, for *fly* they could not; but a little corn thrown to them seems to have reconciled them to their quarters. I was so ignorant as to imagine that they fed on fish, with which all my little washhand-basins of ponds are not *stocked* but *crowded*; but I am now told they must be fed with corn. Do you feed yours at Stowe and Avington?

What a dreadful accident at Liverpool! I had been forming hopes that strength was preparing in that quarter for those by whom it is so much wanted. I grieve to see how very unsuccessfully the elections have turned out; and I know from but too good authority, that whatever face they put on the matter, they do not disguise this fact among themselves.

We had not more want at the beginning of the last French Revolution to augment and consolidate the force of *all* friends of quiet and good order, of whatever description. I should rather say we had not then near so great want to do what we so wisely and fortunately did in that

way, as exists in the present state of things, whether we look at France, Europe, or England. I would to God I could see any symptoms of a similar disposition now either to call for such co-operation or to yield it. Yet it would be the true wisdom of both so to act.

My anticipations are of the most gloomy sort. How much do I wish and pray that I may be deceived !

Lord Grenville did not stand alone in his prognostications of evil ; indeed, the aspect of the times was so menacing, that the most sagacious statesmen of the age could not refrain from expressing their alarm. The spectacle which the continental Governments presented excited to renewed activity in England those professed advocates of republicanism who had hitherto been content with an obscure field for the display of their sentiments. They now emerged from their retreats, and proclaimed their theories wherever they could gain an audience, and as the madness of the moment affected both the middle and lower classes, they constantly gained increasing influence and importance.

It is evident from the following, that the Duke of Wellington had been communicated with in respect to Lord Londonderry's aspirations. This appears to have been partly through the Duke of Buckingham, and partly by means of a subsequent personal interview with the Marquis's eldest son, Viscount Castlereagh.¹ The result evidently was

¹ Present Marquis of Londonderry.

not entirely satisfactory. The Duke's position at this time was critical, and he knew it; and he was too sagacious a Minister to venture upon any act that might be open to misconstruction. Every proceeding of his Government was watched with the most jealous scrutiny, and although Lord Londonderry's claims to his consideration no one could have appreciated more highly than himself, he appears to have dreaded the hostile remarks the bestowal of such a mark of favour might have elicited.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Ravensworth Castle, Oct. 18th, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I did not keep my son ignorant of my position, &c. I thought he might possibly discover the Duke's intentions. I send you his letter of this morning, which pray return. I fear his view has been better than mine on this question; and it of course adds to my annoyance and mortification. But as you kindly undertook the communication, I do not like to keep you in ignorance of how it bears upon my nearest connexion. I think the Duke, even if Murray is to succeed Hill, would hardly give the latter a cavalry regiment; he having so recently received from the Crown the best military government going—Plymouth.

What is then to be done with the Blues?

Ever yours most sincerely and gratefully,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

The enclosure alluded to at the commencement of the following letter, like that in the preceding, was of course returned; but no doubt can remain as to its nature and general contents, after a perusal of Lord Londonderry's comments upon it. The Duke of Wellington must have written under a conviction that his tenure of office was drawing to a conclusion, and such conviction probably exaggerated the opinions his Grace was obliged to express. It is evident that the disappointment he created was very great.

The Minister had taken a statesmanlike view of his position, and thought it most prudent to defer for the present gratifying his old and faithful supporter; but there is reason to suppose that he did not intend a total refusal. There were many persons of considerable influence who were ready to endorse Lord Londonderry's sentiments respecting the Duke of Wellington's domestic policy, but were not likely to divert him from it.

MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Ravensworth Castle, Oct. 17th, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am sure you will admit that the letter you have enclosed can neither convey comfort nor gratification to my mind; and your friendly feeling for me will lament that candour and openness has been met with coldness and reproaches as to the past, and with no shades of hope as

to the future. There is not so much as a glimmering of kind returning sentiment towards me throughout his Grace's epistle, and it seems rather to have been written with a desire to preserve the *éloignement*, than with any wish to gratify or meet my objects ; and while the support and assistance is received, it is attributed entirely to your kindness and good offices.

That you have been most friendly to me, my sincere gratitude will ever express ; but conversant as you must be in political negotiations, you will at once see that your friend, whom you tried to protect and serve, has *been completely flooded* ; and as to my ulterior objects finding their own level, I do not think, my dear Duke, with *this letter* before me, there is much prospect of such a consummation.

Place yourself in my predicament, and I ask your impartial judgment whether you would not be much more bitterly mortified at the unnecessary harshness that has been exhibited in the letter, than under all former occurrences ; nor can I discover the good policy of converting a cordial friend and supporter into a more unwilling follower.

For what purpose does his Grace (while he refrains from entering into topics in detail) conclude by a general *résumé*, "that I have forgotten my situation and antecedent circumstances," (on which, by-the-bye, I can reason very differently from him) ; and, wherefore a lecture that "a Minister is not placed in a situation only to please himself and his friends?" When I contemplate the list of the H* * * s, C * * * * * s, B * * * * * s, M * * * * * s, J * * * * * s, &c. &c., I ask myself, with this portrait, if the Duke's communication is not mere mockery ? For without vanity, I could have been as good

a friend to the King's Government as *some* of these. I know I am indebted to you for the perusal of this letter; I therefore comment on it freely and without reserve, and although all your kindness (I fear) will never do me good, still I am quite sure I shall always be safe in your hands. But if the D. of W. believes that this course towards me will insure cordial supporters, I think he must little know the ordinary bent of human minds. We are none of us so entirely disinterested as *he* may be, nor devoid of ambition as *one* who has grasped every worldly glory. Nor are we without followers and adherents who look up to us. It is for these I combat, and these will not brook our being neglected and passed by. Under present circumstances, how I may succeed in influencing my friends, is very problematical and remains to be tried, for these feel for me, and have openly and warmly expressed it; and it is fair also to add that, in the long run, my mind must be affected by such a seeming abandonment of generous proceeding and kind disposition towards me, for it would have been more noble and less diplomatic towards you in the first instance, if the D. of W. had manly avowed, "If the Blues are Lord L.'s object, he cannot have them;" as to have left the principal and his friend entirely in the dark until all was gained.

Your advice as to pressing the King personally (from what you formerly gave me reason to know) would be of little avail, for H. M. is not, I apprehend, permitted to follow his own disposition. I hope, in conclusion, the D. of W. is not steering a course which will form many of the aristocracy into a party of King's friends; and should his Grace as Minister be defeated, I doubt whether many followers will make common cause with him, if he

tends such encouragement to old friends as I have just experienced at his hands.

Believe me ever, my dear Duke,

Yours most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDEERRY.

My present intention is to be up by the 1st, the day, I presume, of the address.

The chief gratification of the King was playing the hospitable host, and in this his Majesty indulged so liberally, that he entertained on an average two thousand persons a week. He was delighted if he could find out a former messmate, or naval officer with whom he had formed an acquaintance during his professional career. The latter was sure to be made welcome at the palace. Every admiral in the service was equally certain of finding a place at the royal table; indeed the uniform had only to have been worn with credit to be accepted as a Court suit quite as readily as the established costume. Sometimes it seemed difficult to say which was the royal livery, true blue or scarlet. One thing at least was certain, the combination of these colours added considerably to the picturesque effect of the grouping. These social reunions were remarkable in other respects; a nautical freedom prevailed which often gave a peculiar heartiness to the conversation, though strict etiquette was not unfrequently entirely lost sight of.

The good-natured Sovereign was constantly be-

sieged for favours which he sometimes found it as difficult to grant as to refuse. His Majesty related to a select circle after dinner the manner in which he had recently been persecuted by a persevering applicant, and said, evidently with a feeling of relief, "I got rid of him. I made him a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order."

"Served him right!" exclaimed an Admiral famous for his conversational escapades. The laugh was general.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Brunswick Terrace, Brighton, Oct. 20, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King leaves this for St. James's on Monday next, and he has sent this day an order to Marable to send out cards on Monday for a dinner on the 30th January, to his Ministers, heads of departments, &c. &c., altogether forty-seven, probably it will fill to upwards of fifty. I have ordered the list to be sent to you immediately.

Their Majesties go to the play Thursday, the 28th (Drury Lane). The King gives a second large dinner to foreign ministers on the 4th. A third dinner for the Royal Family, the Queen, &c. &c. These are the only three great dinners; the 9th of November, the great City day; the day is not named for Covent Garden.

This is all that is at present projected, of course including the House of Lords; and his Majesty and family return here on the 13th.

You are now in possession of all I know. His Majesty has frequently asked after you, and I informed him you

would be in town at the same time that his Majesty came. He is really extremely well, excepting complaining and suffering from gout in his head. The table here is seldom less than forty, and altogether we feed nearly two thousand a week; but notwithstanding, I have the pleasure of saying—and I think you may rely on the assurance, as I have seen all the detailed accounts up to 10th Oct.—that the quarter is under the estimate, and less than the corresponding quarter of last year; in short, that we have not exceeded. This is most valuable as far as concerns Civil List discussions.

I shall be in town on the 26th, when I trust your Grace will satisfy yourself with all the proceedings which have gone on in the department. The servants seem to have done their duty well and honestly.

What is to become of public men? Is it possible the Duke of Wellington can attempt, with such a feeble support, another session at such a moment, and under such appalling prospects? I see no rational being that is not under the deepest alarm.

Ever, my dear Duke, most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

Watson will speak to you about erasing the name of M***** from being a clerk in the kitchen office. As he is wanted to dine with the King, this is essentially necessary, as he cannot sit down with his kitchen clerk—perhaps it would be advisable to *keep this down* a little, for your own and all our conveniences.

W. H. F.

Lord Londonderry had not quite got over his disappointment. The Duke of Wellington, however, delayed appointing a colonel to the coveted regiment, though it was generally understood to whom it would fall. General Rowland Lord Hill, G.C.B., was an officer very popular and highly distinguished in the service, and had long enjoyed a familiar intimacy with the Minister, under whom he had served through all his campaigns. Such a distinction conferred on Lord Hill was certain of being favourably received, but it did not appear in the "Gazette" for nearly three weeks after the date of Lord Londonderry's communication.¹

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Seaham Hall, Oct. 26, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I can never be insensible to the friendly interest you have taken in my concerns. It may be true that others can judge of a man's position better than himself. But mortification and disappointment are stubborn things to swallow, after a long series of devotion to one shrine.

I will, however, come up for the address *en garçon*; and I trust his Majesty, who has been ever remarkably gracious to me, will give me an audience; and I hope in times of difficulty for the throne and the country he will

¹ "Nov. 19, Royal Horse Guards, General Rowland Hill, G.C.B., *vice* the Duke of Cumberland, to be Colonel."

find me as dutiful, devoted, and zealous a subject as any he rules over. More it is unnecessary to say till we meet.

Ever, my dear Duke, with the sincerest sentiments of gratitude and affection,

Yours very faithfully,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

To add to the embarrassments of the Minister, there occurred an alarming outbreak of the peasantry of the county of Kent, ostensibly against the use of agricultural machinery. They assembled in large bodies, and visited the farm-buildings of the principal landed proprietors, demolishing the threshing machines there in use. In some instances they set fire to barns and cornstacks. These outrages spread consternation throughout the country, and fears were entertained that they would be repeated in other agricultural districts. A meeting of the magistrates and landed gentry of Kent was held at Canterbury on the 12th of October, the High Sheriff in the chair, when a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of the senseless mischief; and the Lords of the Treasury added a further reward of the same amount for their apprehension.

The agricultural interest was in a very depressed state, and the number of unemployed labourers so large, apprehensions were entertained that the combination for the destruction of machinery might, if

not at once checked, take dimensions it would be very difficult for the Government to control.

In Ireland, the prospect was equally alarming. A movement had commenced for the repeal of the legislative Union, under the auspices of Mr. Daniel O'Connell, and a common toast at public meetings was, "The cause of the Belgians; may others [a suggestion to the Irish] imitate their bright example."

Ireland had long been the great ministerial difficulty. A chronic state of disaffection was carefully maintained, to break out with violence on the first favourable opportunity. "The healing measure" for the removal of Catholic disabilities had failed in producing any of the beneficial effects that had been so confidently anticipated, while it established a mischievous precedent for agitation. There existed no real political grievance in Ireland, and the people laboured under no disadvantages for which they were not themselves responsible. Elsewhere they were industrious, thrifty, and obedient to the laws; but among the purely Catholic population, beggary, idleness, and treason, appeared to be the regular production of the soil.

Such a state of things afforded fine scope for the agitator, who found it easy to persuade his countrymen that their poverty was the result of injustice, and to insinuate that they had it in their power to improve their position. "Ireland for the Irish," became the popular cry; and the first step to this

consummation was declared to be a severance of the legislative bond by which, through the wisdom and courage of Lord Castlereagh, Ireland had become an integral part of the United Kingdom. This delusion was made to spread over the country, except in those districts where the inhabitants were of Scottish descent and Presbyterian faith—stigmatized by the demagogues as “the Black North,” because there, and there alone, agriculture and manufactures flourished. Ulster could boast of careful landlords and a provident tenantry; therefore political adventurers and political nostrums were there equally disregarded.

CHAPTER IV.

[1830.]

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—THE KING'S SPEECH—DEBATE ON THE
ADDRESS IN THE LORDS—DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN THE
COMMONS—THE AMENDMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD—
ITS CHARACTER ANALYSED—MR. BROUGHAM AND SIR ROBERT
PEEL ON REFORM—WHIG AND RADICAL OBJECTS.

CHAPTER IV.

THE House of Commons about to meet possessed an unusually large proportion of new members; but notwithstanding the popular enthusiasm for the recent French revolution, at least the usual number of persons connected with aristocratic families had been returned. The Government lost some of its supporters; but Mr. Croker, who had been rejected at Dublin University, got a seat by the Duke of Wellington's interest for the borough of Aldborough. Mr. Brougham was returned for two places, Yorkshire and Knaresborough; so was Lord Ebrington for Devonshire and Tavistock. All the Duke of Buckingham's political friends were elected.

But the character of the House may be better understood by an analysis of its elements. Of eighty-two county members only twenty-eight could be relied on as supporters of the Government; forty-seven being in Opposition, and seven uncertain or neutral. Of the thirteen principal cities in the empire, returning twenty-eight members, three only were likely to support the Duke of Wellington, while twenty-four were sure to oppose

him. Of popular constituencies returning two hundred and thirty-six members, only seventy-nine could be counted on as friends of the Government; one hundred and forty-one were claimed by the Opposition, and sixteen were considered neutral.

The Parliament met on the 26th of October, and having chosen Mr. Manners Sutton as their Speaker, and gone through the usual preliminary proceedings, the speech from the throne was delivered by the King in person on the 2nd of November.

As the proceedings at the commencement of this Parliament were of unusual interest, we shall make no apology for reproducing them; for without this it would be impossible for the reader to understand thoroughly the position of the Duke of Wellington, and the character of the different parties that were organizing an Opposition to his Government. The speech from the throne offered the first debateable ground, and was sure to be subjected to a severe scrutiny. It emanated from the Duke of Wellington in a period of extraordinary difficulty, and bears unquestionable evidence of his wisdom and moderation. The Duke of Buckingham's interest in it was not confined to the paragraph announcing a reform in the Civil List with which he was, by virtue of his office, more particularly concerned; the crisis had been watched by him with increasing anxiety. The date of the following letter, returning a copy of the speech, was that of its delivery by the King. Lord Grenville read, but did not approve, that portion

which subsequently excited the severest comments. It is clear that he took a correct view of the grave aspect of political affairs.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 2, 1830.

Thank you for your account of the speech. I doubt the wisdom of entering so far into Belgic discussions, which cannot fail to give dissatisfaction and alarm here. It may (or it may not) be all true, but what do we know of the facts, and why should we pronounce upon them?

Our immediate concern is at home, where we have but too much evil in prospect. That either militia, yeomanry, or some other form of volunteer force must be *forthwith* resorted to, is but too evident to those who know for what a very different state of things, both at home and abroad, our present peace establishment is calculated; and that we have now in this whole island scarcely the force necessary to put down a smuggler's mob.

Which of the three to look to is a most grave question, and its solution depends on no *abstract* principle of preference, but simply in knowing—of which in this retreat I am necessarily quite ignorant—what are the dispositions throughout the country of those who have real influence in it, and who they are.

If the leaders in either of these schemes are well chosen, and well disposed, all the rest will follow, like a flock of sheep; but if ill, the thing will fail, and its failure will but too probably be irretrievable.

When I have next the happiness to see you here, I have an admirable print to put into your hands, which has been engraved for me from Gainsborough's picture of

my brother. The likeness is admirable, and to me, when I look at it, truly affecting.

If you prefer it, I can send it up to you in town, but I reserved it that I might rather have the pleasure of putting it into your own hands.

I trust you continue free from gout.

The King's speech was as follows :—

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ It is with great satisfaction that I meet you in Parliament, and that I am enabled, in the present conjuncture, to recur to your advice.

“ Since the dissolution of the late Parliament, events of deep interest and importance have occurred on the continent of Europe. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon no longer reigns in France, and the Duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of King of the French. Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and to maintain inviolate all the engagements subsisting with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French Court.

“ I have witnessed with deep regret the state of affairs in the Low Countries. I lament that the enlightened administration of the King should not have preserved his dominions from revolt ; and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and the complaints of his people to the deliberations of an Extraordinary Meeting of the States General should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity

as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other States.

“Appearances of tumult and disorder have produced uneasiness in different parts of Europe ; but the assurances of a friendly disposition, which I continue to receive from all foreign Powers, justify the expectation that I shall be enabled to preserve for my people the blessings of peace. Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the faith of national engagements, I am persuaded that my determination to maintain, in conjunction with my allies, those general treaties by which the political system of Europe has been established, will offer the best security for the repose of the world.

“I have not yet accredited my Ambassador to the Court of Lisbon ; but the Portuguese Government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those relations which had so long existed between the two countries.

“I am impelled, by the deep solicitude which I feel for the welfare of my people, to recommend to your immediate consideration the provisions which it may be advisable to make for the exercise of the royal authority, in case that it should please Almighty God to terminate my life before my successor shall have arrived at years of maturity. I shall be prepared to concur with you in the adoption of those measures which may appear best calculated to maintain unimpaired the stability and dignity of the Crown, and thereby to strengthen the securities by which the civil and religious liberties of my people are guarded.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I have ordered the estimates for those services of the present year for which the last Parliament did not fully provide, to be forthwith laid before you. The estimates for the ensuing year will be prepared with that strict regard to economy which I am determined to enforce in every branch of the public expenditure.

"By the demise of my lamented brother, the late King, the Civil List revenue has expired. I place without reserve at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues and in those funds which may be derived from any droits of the Crown or Admiralty, from the West India Duties, or from any casual revenues, either in my foreign possessions, or in the United Kingdom. In surrendering to you my interest in revenues which have in former settlements of the Civil List been reserved to the Crown, I rejoice in the opportunity of evincing my entire reliance on your dutiful attachment, and my confidence that you will cheerfully provide all that may be necessary for the support of the civil Government, and the honour and dignity of my Crown.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I deeply lament that in some districts of the country the property of my subjects has been endangered by combinations for the destruction of machinery, and that serious losses have been sustained through the acts of wicked incendiaries. I cannot view without grief and indignation the efforts which are industriously made to excite among my people a spirit of discontent and disaffection, and to disturb the concord which happily prevails between those parts of my dominions, the union of which is essential to their common strength and common happiness. I am determined to exert to the utmost of

my power all the means which the law and the constitution have placed at my disposal for the punishment of sedition, and for the prompt suppression of outrage and disorder.

"Amidst all the difficulties of the present conjuncture, I reflect with the highest satisfaction on the loyalty and affectionate attachment of the great body of my people. I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy form of Government under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed, for a long succession of years, a greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of true liberty, of all that constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any other country of the world. It is the great object of my life to preserve these blessings to my people, and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity; and I am animated in the discharge of the sacred duty which is committed to me, by the firmest reliance on the wisdom of Parliament, and on the cordial support of my faithful and loyal subjects."¹

The debate on the address that followed, brought out what were considered the salient points of this document. The proposer and seconder in the House of Lords were the Marquis of Bute and Lord Monson, but the speech of the latter was not reported, because it was not heard. After the Lord Chancellor had put the question, the Earl of Winchelsea denied that the incendiary proceedings in Kent were the work of the peasantry; and having dwelt on the poverty of the landowners,

¹ "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates," New Series, i. 7.

stated that the country was going to decay, and asked for an inquiry into the state of the agricultural interest. The Marquis Camden attributed the agrarian disturbances to the evil influence of the recent events that had taken place across the Channel. The Duke of Richmond dwelt on the distress of the agricultural labourers and their alleged disaffection to the Government; adding, that he felt no alarm, knowing that Englishmen possessed too much good sense, devotion to the institutions of their country, and loyalty to their sovereign, to be led away into dangerous errors.

The Earl of Darnley also dwelt on the existing distress, but stated that it was not general. The Duke of Leinster referred to the agitation in Ireland for the Repeal of the Union, and assured the House that, unless the Government adopted some plan for reforming the Grand Jury system, it must make such progress that it would be difficult to deal with it. Lord Farnham stated that the present moment was one of the most important at which a Parliament had met for many years, whether considered with relation to our foreign or domestic policy. He made some strictures on the paragraph in the King's speech respecting Belgium, and described the burdens upon the landed interest as excessive. He expressed himself as decidedly opposed to the Repeal agitation, though he considered the manner in which the Union had been carried as highly objectionable.

The next speaker was Earl Grey, and as his lordship was the acknowledged leader of the Opposition, his speech was regarded as the declaration of his party. He addressed the House at considerable length on all the topics that had previously been touched upon, but in a moderate tone; generally eulogizing the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and insisting on Catholic Emancipation having been a healing measure in Ireland. He advocated a reduction of taxation, and spoke in commendation of the King's intention to surrender the hereditary revenues of the Crown. Then he considered the prospect of affairs abroad, and the state of our foreign relations, but deprecated any arming of the country, recommending instead a reform in Parliament. He approved of all that had occurred in France, and dwelt with much warmth on what he considered "the noble cause." His lordship then denounced the union of Holland and Belgium, and objected to the reference to Belgium in the address. After some reflections on Don Miguel, Lord Grey ended by acknowledging that he did not intend to offer any opposition to the address.

The Duke of Wellington now rose, and, after commending the tone with which the last speaker had commenced his speech, addressed himself energetically to those portions of it that appeared to call in question the policy of his Government. He expressed with his usual force and lucidity his opinion respecting the recent revolutionary move-

ments on the Continent, and then entered into a consideration of the state of Ireland. On this point he said—

“The House well knew that a vast majority of the people of every class in Ireland had desired to see the Catholics restored to all their civil rights. The House well knew that a great majority of its members, as well as a great majority of the other House, had been equally desirous of effecting that object; it well knew that a great majority of the young and growing intellect of the country had ardently wished for the measure, and would any noble lord now contend that the Government did not stand on firmer and better ground with respect to the Union, than if the Catholic question had not been carried. He therefore really did not see the advantage of repeating against him the reproach of his having given way upon that question from motives of fear. He denied that he had been influenced, even in the slightest degree, by any such motive. He had given way, if it could be termed giving way, solely because the interests of the country required it. He had urged the question upon views of policy and expediency, and of justice; upon these grounds he now justified the measure, and upon these grounds he ever would defend his conduct.”

After defending the measures of the Government to conciliate the people of Ireland, the Duke referred to the intimation of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, which Lord Grey had expressed; and he not only stated that he was unprepared with any such measure, but added that he had never read or heard of any measure up to

the present moment which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large.¹

The general effect of this debate appeared to be favourable to the Government; but the same day, in the House of Commons, the intentions of the Opposition were made known to the country by Mr. Brougham announcing a plan of parliamentary reform that he was about to bring forward. Then came the debate on the address, the proposer and seconder being Lord Grimstone and Mr. R. A. Dundas. Lord Althorp followed, stating his belief that the country was not in such a state of discontent as to justify the apprehensions that had been expressed; and though promising a cordial support to such measures of the Government as should meet his approbation, he advocated economy and retrenchment in every department of the public expenditure. Finally, he said the people were convinced that the only effective remedy for existing evils was a reform in Parliament.

The Marquis of Blandford considered the state of the country as calling for legislative attention, and moved the following amendment to the address:—

“In this its first address to the throne of a new King, instead of making itself the mere echo of the Ministers of

¹ “Hansard,” i. 51.

the Crown, this House feels that it ought to show itself to be the very mirror of the people, and that to do so it must not fail to lay before your Majesty all their thoughts and feelings, all their wants and wishes, as well as all their loyalty to your office and attachment to your person.

“The discharge of this important duty, and the present serious aspect of public affairs, render it impossible, as well as improper, to address your Majesty otherwise than at considerable length. Your Majesty is to be informed that this House, in common with the great majority of your people, holds the memory of the House of Commons of the last Parliament in utter hatred and contempt, for the following reasons: first, because the last House of Commons uniformly turned a deaf ear to the just complaints and petitions of your people; and, secondly, because, instead of acting upon the old constitutional principle of withholding the supplies until the grievances of the people were redressed, which it was earnestly and seriously urged to do, it seemed to consider itself of no other use, and chosen for no other purpose, but to vote night after night immense sums of money, to be drawn from the pockets of the people, exhibiting at the same time the utmost indifference, and often the most sovereign contempt, of all consideration in what manner such enormous sums could be obtained, without the risk of involving the great productive interests of the country in the most extensive embarrassment and ruin.

“That in proof of this, your Majesty has only to look at the unprecedented numbers of bankruptcies and insolvencies of farmers, traders, and others of your honest and industrious subjects through all the years of the existence of the last House of Commons; and your Majesty will

thereby be convinced, that while great numbers of landed proprietors have been driven from their paternal mansions, and have been compelled to see them occupied by loan-mongers and stock-jobbers, while others have removed themselves, their families, and their fortunes for ever from your shores, and while the middle classes of your subjects have been reduced with frightful rapidity to the labouring class, the labouring class has been reduced to absolute beggary and want; that numbers have actually died from starvation, and others have been obliged to submit to the most degrading services, and to see themselves and their families the victims of fever induced by famine; that thus, in a short time, instead of ruling, like the two first Princes of the House of Brunswick, over a nation devoted to your government by the happiness and blessings it should enjoy, your Majesty may find yourself ruling over a nation of paupers and of placemen—of those who live upon the taxes and the poor-rates on the one hand, and on the other hand of loan-mongers and borough-mongers, wallowing in the stagnant and unproductive accumulations of their joint and several monopolies. Such, Sire, are the effects of the accursed and unnatural funding system in its last agonies, and the vain attempts to save this monster in England are at this moment overturning the governments of other countries far more rapidly than the folly or even the wickedness of their rulers. That the acts of the late House of Commons, both of omission and commission, under which the people of this once happy country have been brought to such a state of wretchedness and suffering, inculcate all concerned in the highest degree of criminality, from which nothing can excuse them but a sincere and contrite confession of their sins and a total and immediate alteration of their conduct,

without which it will be the duty of this House to expose by name to your Majesty all those who are feeding upon the vitals of the country, as the only chance left, since argument has failed, of saving itself, and perhaps even the throne of your Majesty, from the storms of convulsion.

“That in order to have obviated such complicated evils as are hereinbefore set forth, it was the duty of the late House of Commons to have done more and to have talked much less.

“That that House was told, both within these walls and without these walls, that the reason why it felt no sympathy in their sufferings, no anxiety for their relief, was because the majority of its members had an interest directly opposite to the interests of the people; that this majority was not chosen, as of right it ought to have been, by the majority of the landowners and householders of England, but was nominated and appointed by a few individuals who, partly by the effects of time and accident, but still more by a barefaced perversion of the spirit and meaning of our laws and constitution, had acquired the power of selling or otherwise disposing of the seats in this House in such manner as best suited their own interests. That the late House of Commons was also repeatedly called upon, entreated and implored to set about reforming such a monstrous abuse, but that it uniformly refused to listen to such call; and though hesitating, fluctuating, and changing upon other questions of vital consequence to the country, upon this question of reform it determined to follow the advice of one of its own members and one of its own temporary elective dictators, dependent upon its own corrupt and prostituted votes, which has been truly called ‘the most odious of all forms of tyranny, to oppose reform in every shape to the end of its political

existence,' and that, to the eternal disgrace of the last House of Commons, it kept this profligate determination obstinately to the last.

"But your Majesty may be assured, that if your Majesty had not been advised to dissolve the last Parliament in the sudden and unexpected manner in which it was dissolved, the late glorious events which have taken place in France would have had a mighty effect in shaking this profligate determination of the said House, and of inducing it to consider the difference between the guilt of bringing on death upon a nation by slow poison, or by a sudden blow ; and that, by the law of England, there is such a thing as treason against the people as well as treason against the King. Your Majesty may also be further assured, that when great numbers of the nobility, being members of the Privy Council, were charged, in despite of the constant prayers of the Church, with being traffickers of the seats in this House, and that one of the fruits of such traffic was, not an endowment of 'grace, wisdom, and understanding,' but an endowment of more than half a million a-year of the public money among themselves ; and that another fruit was the patronage of the Church, of the Army and Navy, and of the collection of about sixty millions a-year of taxes among the families, friends, and dependents of the masters of seats in the House of Commons.

"If these things had been seriously considered, it is not to be believed that the blood of Englishmen would submit to be for ever tainted with such political disgrace, but that there would have been a race among the said masters, and the buyers and sellers of seats in Parliament, who should be foremost in laying down upon the altar of this country this unhallowed and most damned property, or

power of trafficking in the representation of the Commons of England.

“ Your Majesty may consider it as the firm conviction of the people, that if the last House of Commons had done its duty, it ought, upon every principle of justice, to have reduced the taxes at least in the same proportion that it raised the value of the currency; and thus half the present amount of taxes might and ought to have been taken off, including the whole of the cruel and harassing excise laws, and all those cheating indirect taxes, by which every labouring man, who earns and expends £30 a-year, has £18 taken from him. All the just expenses of the Government and the interest of the debt might have been reduced, with perfect equity, in the same proportion as the taxes, and all the unjust expenses of Government in useless and sinecure places, the diplomatic, colonial, and all other departments, kept up solely for the purposes of corruption, might and would have been done away with, if the last House of Commons had been the real, and not the sham representatives of the people. That the late attempt to destroy the freedom of the press and freedom of election in France, and thereby the more effectually to rob the people of that country of their rights and property, never would have been made, if the last House of Commons had had the sense and honesty to have restored freedom of election in England; that the King of France might still have been upon his throne, and all danger have been prevented from the mischiefs of anarchy and confusion, which have only been avoided by the unexampled wisdom of the brave and learned youth of France, and the splendid forbearance of the brave and honest working men of Paris, who did not hesitate to risk their lives when they saw that a system of tyranny and taxes was

about to be fixed for ever on them and on their children.

“And in reference to this affair, so important in its consequences, too much praise and thanks cannot be given to your Majesty for the honour you have conferred on England, whose sons were heretofore famed as ‘ever first and foremost in the achievement of liberty,’ in taking the lead, and setting the example of acknowledging the new King of the French ; who, like your Majesty, sits upon his throne by the best and highest of all titles, that which is said to be the voice of God himself—namely, the voice of the people. For this great honour and service, it is the unanimous opinion of this House, of the whole nation, not to say of all Europe, that this act may justly be ascribed to the personal character of your Majesty, and to your own sense of justice and of the true interests of your subjects ; and your Majesty, therefore, deserves to enjoy the hope that your name may be remembered by millions still unborn, for the lasting blessings of peace and friendship between France and England, which this act of your Majesty has every prospect of consolidating.

“And the members of this the first House of Commons in the new Parliament promise your Majesty, as it is fit they should, that if others learn nothing by example they will, as they do not doubt that a King who has already given such proofs of his desire of being beloved by his people, and of promoting the welfare and happiness of the industrious classes—that a King who more than thirty years ago, from his own mouth in Parliament, denounced monopolies as the canker of the State, and called upon the Legislature to root them out, will never endure to see his people ruined, and his crown put in hazard by that

worst of all monopolies—the monopoly of the seats of the House of Commons. So they implore your Majesty to withdraw your confidence and the patronage of the Crown from all persons engaged in or resolved upon upholding this odious traffic, and thereby implicating your Majesty in such connexion.

“And if, in so doing, your Majesty, who as yet stands clear of this system, and above all suspicion in the eyes of the country, should have to encounter a factious opposition to your Government, or if the usurping proprietors of seats in the House of Commons should be so lost to every sense of justice, and to their own interests, as to dare to set up their usurpation against the ancient, just, and undoubted prerogatives of the Crown, your Majesty may rely upon the zealous and determined support of this House, and of your people, even to the last drop of their blood.

“And your Majesty may be assured that nothing short of the complete annihilation of this odious and unrighteous monopoly of seats in the House of Commons will ever satisfy the just and unanswerable demands of your people to be restored to their ancient laws and constitution, of which they know they have been most wrongfully deprived by the corruption and prostitution of this House within little more than the last hundred years, which is but as yesterday in the history of laws of such high antiquity and such transcendent fame throughout the known world. That, next to the disesteem in which the memory of the last House of Commons is held by the people for refusing to enter upon the great question of Parliamentary Reform, would be the grievous disappointment and just indignation of the people, if nothing more than the representation of a few large towns were to be offered them, while the great

master-grievance of a proprietary interest and domination over seats in this House should be allowed to continue.

"And your Majesty may also rest assured, that the great majority of your people have no desire to alter the frame of the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, which has endured so long, and been productive of such advantages to the community; neither do they think it necessary or expedient to claim or demand any new plan or scheme of representation unknown and untried in the history and practice of their ancestors, but they will never cease to demand that wherever, according to that history and that practice, the right of representation has been bounded, there shall also be bounded the burden of taxation."

In these quiet times it is impossible to read such a document as the preceding without feelings of astonishment that such egregious exaggerations should have been presented to a legislative assembly like the British House of Commons, by a political party that had hitherto been as thoroughly committed to the alleged abuses described in the extraordinary language therein employed, as their opponents. The proprietary boroughs were quite as much a creation of the Whigs as of the Tories; indeed, as is well known, members of the most liberal principles had been content to seek a reputation in Parliament by entering it through this much-abused channel.

The violent denunciations and startling menaces which the heir of the Duke of Marlborough had

thought proper to address to his Sovereign, proved unmistakeably that the Whigs had adopted the principles of an extreme section of politicians as a road to popular favour, and by that road to supreme influence in the State. The time seemed favourable for a combination to attack the party against which they had for a long series of years carried on an untiring opposition with inadequate profit to themselves; and they appear to have felt assured that the revolutionary current which had set in from the French coast would carry them high and dry on that pleasant beach—the Treasury Benches.

The Marquis of Blandford, or those who advised him on this occasion, must have read the history of the last century with a singularly oblique vision, to venture to make a comparison in favour of the England under the guidance of Sir Robert Walpole and the England directed by the Duke of Wellington. It was impossible for anything to be more incorrect; and seriously to attempt such a contrast was equally insulting to the Sovereign, the Minister, and the people of the nineteenth century. The extravagance of the sentiments employed is only worthy of remark as a declaration of the new political philosophy; while the schoolboy declamation by which it is characterized throughout, cannot conceal the gratuitous assumptions, pretensions, professions, and abuse that pervade every sentence. If, however, it could have ended where it began, the document would have been perfectly harmless;

but it was eagerly seized as an authoritative acknowledgment of political abuses that had long flourished among the aristocracy, to the prejudice of what was pronounced exclusively to be the working classes; and its language was adopted and echoed with real democratic tendency, till a conviction appeared to be spreading among labourers and mechanics that they were the true source of political power, and had a right to use it solely for their own advantage.

The reader will observe the subsequent development of trades' unions and their objects, as well as the publication of the "People's Charter," and may easily trace both to this most injudicious partisan production. Its excessive commendation of the French revolution was, however, its most objectionable feature.

After the amendment had been seconded by Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Long Wellesley addressed the House in favour of reform and in opposition to portions of the King's speech. Sir J. Yorke replied with happy effect, and in his characteristic way opposed the amendment. He said:—

"His Majesty had been bred up in a man-of-war, had been educated in the cockpit, and had come from sitting on a midshipman's chest to take his seat upon the imperial throne of these realms. It was comfortable to him as a member of the same profession to which his Majesty had formerly belonged to see such an array of the representatives of the people assembled on the first day of the

session to do justice to the expectations of the country, and to endeavour to dole out from the concocted wisdom, a system which might give repose to Europe, and secure the peace and tranquillity of the world. The noble lord, he added, had proposed a long amendment, which, in the language of the profession, he would call a tough, long yarn, and which looked vastly like the pamphlet of some political *doctrinaire*."

Mr. Hume followed, denouncing the sentiments of the gallant Admiral for breathing of war in support of what he was pleased to call "that infamous system;" condemned the King's speech, applauded the proceedings of the French people, abused the Dutch, dilated on the necessity of a relief from taxation and the advantages of a strict economy, and defended Mr. O'Connell's proceedings in Ireland.

Sir Robert Peel answered him, commenting forcibly on his inflammatory language and misrepresentations, and defended the Government with his customary eloquence. Mr. O'Connell then commenced one of his most violent philippics against England and her institutions. Mr. Brougham defended him, and, after commenting on the alarming state of Ireland, passed to the assailable parts of the King's speech, which he attacked at great length and with much bitterness. The conclusion, however, was in his best style of oratory. He said:—

“The people, I am persuaded, are sound at heart. They love the monarchy. The people might love a republic in America, but *we* did not love it; we love our Parliament—I heartily wish it were purer, and then we should have nothing to fear. We preferred our limited King, our limited Crown—I will use the word prefer, because I know that it is made the shibboleth of a party. Then, I say, the people of England prefer a limited monarchy, and with that an aristocracy, for an aristocracy is a necessary part of a limited monarchy. The people of England prefer a limited monarchy to the republic, which may be suitable to another country. The people of England are quiet because they love their institutions. I wish well to the rights of the people, and by these rights I am resolved to live, being ready to perish with these rights and for them; because I, for one, think these rights are understood by the people, and are appropriate to their character and temper. Limited monarchy and aristocracy are the best securities for these rights, and I, for one, wish for no change. I wish for no revolution; and I speak, I am sure, the sentiments of the great bulk of the people, who love the institutions of their country, who love monarchy and love nobility, because with the rights and liberties of the people themselves these are all knit up together. They have a strong attachment to our form of government, and I would infinitely rather, if all these must perish, perish with them, than survive to read on the ruins the memorable lesson of the instability of the best institutions.”

After a further discussion on the state of Ireland by Sir H. Parnell, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Spring Rice, and Sir Henry Hardinge, the amendment

was negatived without a division, and the address agreed to. The former had merely been put forward as a party declaration; and as circulation all over the country had been secured for it, it might safely be left to work out its object.

Nothing material took place in the House till a motion was made on the following day that Lord Grimstone should bring up the report on the address, when the subject of reform in Parliament was again discussed, and the presumed defects in the King's speech once more debated on. Sir Robert Peel entered into a long and eloquent defence of the Government, and Mr. Brougham made a powerful attack on their foreign policy. A mild amendment, that had been moved by Mr. Tennyson, having been negatived without a division, another, breathing more warmly of economy and reform, proposed by Mr. Hume, shared the same fate.

Under such circumstances the attack on the constitution commenced—partly by sapping and mining its natural defences, partly by a fierce assault on its proper defenders, partly by a delusive proposition to make the citadel stronger than ever, and its garrison the most incorruptible in the world. It was useless to insist that the best engineers had been consulted in its production, and that it had served its purpose of protecting the liberties of the empire, while its best institutions had so flourished under its immediate influence that it had become

the envy of surrounding States; it was in vain to point to unquestionable evidence of the ability of its commanders, and the zeal and devotion of their subordinates: a new system of ideas had generated a love of change, with, of course, the intention of effecting improvement. The Whig experimentalists, many of them totally inexperienced in the science of government, announced authoritatively in the words of Wordsworth's hero:—

“Of old things all are over old,
Of good things none are good enough;
We'll show that we can help to frame
A world of other stuff.”

And pretty stuff they made of it. As for their Radical allies, we may add from the same source, as their particular object,

“Sufficeth then, the good old plan,
That they may take who have the power,
And they may keep who can.”

CHAPTER V.

[1830.]

DISTURBED STATE OF THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS IN ENGLAND —
AGITATION FOR REPEAL OF THE UNION IN IRELAND — THE KING'S
VISIT TO THE CITY POSTPONED — ALLEGED UNPOPULARITY OF THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON — PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSIONS — THE DUKE
OF WELLINGTON ON VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS — DEBATE ON THE
CIVIL LIST — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS — CLAMOUR AGAINST
PENSIONS.

CHAPTER V.

THE opening of the campaign against the Government, out of Parliament, displayed the nature of the combination that had been formed, and the character of the tactics which were to be employed against it. The state of the agricultural districts had been daily growing more alarming; rioting and incendiarism had spread from Kent to Sussex, Norfolk, Surrey, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire; and a great deal of valuable property had been destroyed. A mystery enveloped these proceedings that indicated organization, and it became suspected that they had a political source as well as a political object. Threatening letters were sent to individuals signed, "Swing," and beacon fires communicated from one part of the country to another. With the object of checking these outrages, night patrols were established, dragoons were kept in readiness to disperse tumultuous meetings, while the magistrates, clergymen, and landed gentry did all that was possible to alleviate the existing distress.

In Ireland the agitation for a repeal of the Union was proceeding with frantic violence, though a declaration against the movement had been signed by thirty peers, seven baronets, and two hundred and sixty gentlemen of influence. The Lord-Lieutenant had also issued a proclamation for the suppression of a seditious society that was being organized under the title of "The Association of Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union."

London had also evinced unequivocal signs of a disposition in the lower orders to disturbance; ostensibly directed against the new police and the Duke of Wellington, but the Government had received information that the occasion of the King going to dine with the Lord Mayor and Corporation on Tuesday, the 9th of November, would be seized upon to make a popular demonstration, the result of which seemed pregnant with mischief—indeed, a riot appeared certain, in which case the military would have to aid the civil force in repressing it. "If firing had begun," said the Duke to Sir William Knighton, "who could tell where it would end? I know what street firing is," he added; "one guilty person would fall, and ten innocent be destroyed. Would this have been well or humane for a little bravado, or that the country might not have been alarmed for a day or two?"¹ The Government advised his Majesty to defer his visit; and neither the King nor the Duke attended. This precautionary measure

¹ "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton."

created intense alarm, as rumours were in circulation of conspiracies, and of the arrival in London of large bodies of men from the agricultural and manufacturing districts, for revolutionary purposes. It was known also that the Tower was placed in a state of defence, and garrisoned with an additional body of artillery, another detachment being stationed at the West End; that the guards at the Bank were doubled, and that an unusual military force had marched into London. The funds fell three per cent. on Monday, and business of all kinds appeared at a stand-still. Whatever the extreme liberal party may have had to do with these intended unpopular manifestations against the King's Ministers in the King's presence, it is certain that both sections of the Opposition affected extraordinary indignation against the Government for the measures that had prevented their expression. They not only ventured to "pooh! pooh!" the unquestionable indications of a disposition to riot that were exhibited, but accused the Minister of having grossly misjudged the King's loyal subjects. The explanations, however, of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were considered so satisfactory by the commercial world, that the funds rose on Wednesday five or six per cent. from the lowest quotation of Monday. The discussions that took place in Parliament at this time show how complete was the alliance of the Whigs with the Radicals.

The difficulties of the Duke of Wellington were

in no slight degree augmented by a section of his friends that had separated themselves from him and his policy, since he had brought forward the Catholic Emancipation Bill. They were generally noblemen of much political knowledge, and were possessed of considerable experience in public affairs, having served the State in high official employments; they were, however, by their opponents considered to represent ideas that were behind the age, and were much abused by all who affected liberal sentiments. The Duke, therefore, would only have been embarrassed by their assistance, could he have obtained it; but of this there did not appear to be any prospect.

A declaration against Ministers was pronounced in the House of Lords, on the 4th of November, by the Earl of Winchelsea. He stated that only Lord Grey and the noblemen with whom he acted possessed the confidence of the country; and he implored their lordships to place before his Majesty in strong but respectful terms, their want of confidence in his Majesty's advisers, and point out to his Majesty the necessity of placing the Government in the hands of men of more political honesty and integrity than the present Ministers, and more capable of discharging their duty to the Crown. This brought up the Duke of Wellington, who satisfied himself with a general complaint of Lord Winchelsea's misstatements.

On the same day, in the other House, Mr. Hume offered some suggestions to Ministers, on the foreign

policy of the country, that elicited no remark, and Mr. C. W. Wynn moved for leave to bring in a Bill for doing away with the oaths of adjuration on the acceptance of civil office, and with those taken by members of the House before the Lord Steward. He was supported by Mr. Cutlar Ferguson, Mr. O'Connell, and Lord Nugent. Sir Robert Peel saw no difficulty in the way of the abrogation of the oaths, and offered no opposition to the proposed measure, though he declined pledging himself to its support. After a similar opinion had been expressed by Sir Charles Wetherall, leave was given to bring in the Bill. Mr. Hume again referred to the proceedings of the Government respecting Belgium and Portugal, and moved for copies of recent correspondence; but on being informed of the cost of printing such papers, expressed himself satisfied.

The following day, after some observations on recent riots in Ireland, Mr. O'Connell presented a petition from Cockermouth, praying for reform, and declaring annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, necessary for the salvation of the country. He made a speech distinguished by its virulence against the Duke of Wellington, which was severely commented on by Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Mr. Croker, and was defended by Mr. Hobhouse. After some other business, Mr. Kenyon, before the House went into a Committee of Supply, demanded of the Government whether they intended proposing the appointment of a Select

Committee to consider the distressed state of the kingdom, with the view of devising some plan for its amelioration. Sir Robert Peel denied there was any such intention. Alderman Waithman and one or two other members made statements, till the question was put that the Speaker leave the chair, when Mr. Hume commenced an inflammatory harangue on the state of the country, and asked what the Government meant to do in the way of reduction of taxation. Sir Robert Peel declined to answer the question, which brought down on Ministers an attack from Colonel Davies. Mr. Baring exposed some of the misstatements and exaggerations that had been circulated by Mr. Hume's friends; Lord Howick defended them, and complained of the declaration in the King's speech respecting Belgium. Sir Robert Peel forcibly condemned the exciting language that had been used.

The paragraph in the King's speech relative to the estimates having been read, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for a supply, when Mr. Hume again rose, and again took up the time of the House by abusing his political opponents. Mr. Baring, while defending himself, animadverted on the exaggerations that had been employed. Mr. Tennyson defended Mr. Hume. After Colonel Sibthorpe had made some remarks on the increasing distress of the people, the public business was allowed to proceed; but a motion for leave to bring in a Bill for

the more effectual administration of justice in Ireland, brought up Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Hume quickly followed to move for a copy of the King's Printer's Patent, and made another long speech, which was answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Spottiswoode—he then moved for returns of pensions to widows of officers of the army, navy, and civil service ; both motions were agreed to.

In the House of Lords, on the 8th of November, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved for the production of papers respecting Belgium ; the Earl of Aberdeen having stated that there was no objection to their production, the Marquis of Londonderry expressed his approval of the intention of Ministers to preserve the faith of existing treaties; and averred that if the aristocracy would stand by the throne, the fomenters of mischief would soon be powerless. The Duke of Richmond said that he considered some change necessary in the representation, and was prepared to concede the demands of the people.

The Duke of Wellington, in his reply, entered into a statement of the causes that had led to the postponement of his Majesty's visit to the City. The Duke produced a letter from the Lord Mayor elect (Mr. John Key) announcing an intention of the populace to assault the Duke on his way to the annual feast of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. He stated that the Government had received information from other sources that the police were to be

attacked while the gas-lights were being extinguished, and that a variety of attempts would be made to excite riot and disorder ; and that as his Majesty, the Ministers, the great officers of State, and the Foreign Ambassadors going in procession after the usual pageant, could not fail of attracting a very large assemblage, his colleagues had considered it preferable not to hazard a riot in the presence of the Sovereign ; and in consequence his Majesty had been recommended to postpone his visit. The Duke ended by expressing his willingness to produce the documents required.

The Earl of Shrewsbury considered the present times full of danger, and pronounced a panegyric on Mr. O'Connell. The Marquis of Clanricarde acknowledged that he had heard the Duke of Wellington's explanation with "the greatest horror ;" but what was horrible in it he did not attempt to describe, beyond stating that it had thrown a slur on the nation. Lord Grey then delivered another eulogy on the French revolution, and commented on the King having been prevented going to the civic banquet, acknowledging that he felt much consolation in knowing that the unpopularity insisted on, affected the Minister, and not the Sovereign.

The Duke of Wellington made a further explanation, fully justifying the measure he had advised. The Earl of Radnor, however, found it less satisfactory than the first, and attacked the Government for having been so easily frightened. The Marquis

of Bute defended the Duke; and as for any popularity worth having, he added, *that* would attend the man, who although he had no personal fear, did what he conscientiously considered to be his duty to his country and to his Sovereign, at the risk of losing, for the moment, popularity of another description.¹

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after some conversation on the absence of Ministers, Lord Althorp attacked the Government for exposing his Majesty to the great unpopularity which might follow from disappointing the expectations of thousands of his faithful subjects. It elicited an explanation from Sir Robert Peel. The reading of Mr. Key's communication was interrupted by loud shouts of laughter from the Opposition, which Sir Robert endeavoured to check by pointingly commenting on it. He then proceeded to show the necessity for the advice that had been given to the King. He referred to the unpopularity of the new police, and the known intentions of the mob to attack the house of the Duke of Wellington, when the police were at a distance; as their services would be required to maintain order during the passage of the procession. He assured the House, that in the previous days the most industrious attempts had been made to inflame the public mind, and that thousands of handbills had been circulated, with the object of exciting to a breach of the peace. They were artfully adapted to effect

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, i. 263.

their mischievous purpose. One of them he now read to the House.

“To arms ! to arms ! *Liberty or Death !* London meets on Tuesday next, an opportunity not to be lost for avenging the wrongs we have suffered so long. *Come armed*, be firm, and victory must be ours !!!

“AN ENGLISHMAN.”

Another, which he also read, was in the following terms :—

“*Liberty or Death !* Englishmen, Britons, and honest men ! The time has at length arrived—all London meets on Tuesday—*come armed*. We assure you from ocular demonstration, that six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel’s bloody gang ; remember *the cursed speech from the throne ! !* These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this ?”

Sir Robert dwelt on the inflammatory language of these handbills, and on the fact that no less than sixty-two cases of assaults on the police, made during the passage of the civic procession, had been brought under the cognizance of the magistrates the next morning ; and in conclusion, stated that although it would be said that the Government was unpopular, while his Majesty was enthusiastically beloved by his people, he was content to bear that taunt, rather than forbear giving advice calculated

to secure the tranquillity of the Metropolis, to prevent the loss of life, and prevent, above all, any addition to the public excitement.

Mr. Brougham did not think a sufficient reason had been given for keeping his Majesty away from the Lord Mayor's dinner. He then expressed regret that the Duke of Wellington should have departed from his peculiar sphere into the labyrinths of politics, with an attempt on his part to shine as a great statesman; a character which nature, that formed him a great general, he prematurely added, *never intended that he should become.*

The debate was a long one—the liberal members seizing the opportunity to attack the Government, and the Ministers in the House defending themselves and their colleagues. In conclusion, Sir Robert Peel spoke warmly in praise of the sentiments that had been expressed by Mr. Denman, who had joined his voice to that of other members in reprehension of the personal attacks that had been made on the Duke of Wellington, and in censure of the brutal and savage outrages committed against the police.

Discussions followed respecting slavery—interference with affairs in Belgium—intercourse with the West Indies and America—and on the administration of justice in Ireland; but these proceedings were allowed to pass in a manner more becoming a great legislative assembly. The following day the House met again, and in a debate on the repeal of

the Union, Mr. O'Connell exceeded himself in the virulence of his abuse. Pointedly addressing Ministers, he said:—

“Ye place-holders, who revel on the hard earnings of the people; ye pensioners, who subsist on the public money; ye tax-consumers and tax-devourers, assault me as you please, I am not to be intimidated by you. I shall continue to stand by Ireland; for I represent her wants, her wishes, and her grievances.”

The statements he ventured to make in the course of his speech were contradicted by Mr. Shaw, Mr. G. Dawson, Sir Robert Bateson, Captain O'Grady, Lord Althorp, Sir H. Hardinge, and Mr. Littleton. Though Mr. Brougham interposed to call the debate an irrelevant discussion, he more than once recommenced it. At last, more important questions were permitted to come before the House; these were, “Public Relief for the Poor,” “Recovery of Small Debts,” and the “Amendment of the Statute of Frauds,” “The Officers of the Army,” “The Sussex Jury Bill,” and “Slavery.” During a conversation on the last, Mr. O'Connell received a reproof from the Speaker for being “highly irregular” in urging imputations on honourable members.

The unjustifiable language employed by Mr. O'Connell was that which was being carefully circulated at public meetings, and in cheap publications. It mattered little to those who used it that

the persons so abused were men of high principle and really liberal feelings; that they were among the steadiest supporters of charitable institutions, and were promoters of every scheme that came recommended to them by its benevolence or utility; that they gave remunerative employment to a vast number of persons who without them would have had to endure many privations; and that under their patronage, trade, science, art, and literature were flourishing as they had never flourished before—they were Ministers, therefore they were abused.

The Duke of Buckingham had, in the alarming state of the country, encouraged the idea that had been brought forward by persons of property and influence throughout the kingdom, of increasing volunteer corps. This he had discussed with the Duke of Wellington, and subsequently his Grace wrote the following communication:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, Nov. 10, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I learnt in conversation with the Secretary of State last night, that he is a little embarrassed by the offers to form volunteer corps which have been made to him. I conclude that your efforts upon this subject have proceeded from what passed between us in conversation at dinner on Monday.

To accept an offer of raising a corps of volunteers is not *cheap*, and is always a matter for the exercise of prudence. To refuse it sometimes occasions feelings of

irritation. Upon the whole, it is thought better not to give further encouragement of offers at present.

Believe me ever,

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c. &c.

The necessity for a volunteer force was certainly not so urgent thirty years ago as it is now; yet we were then arming against foes from within, not to prepare for an anticipated invasion. It is evident that the Duke of Wellington did not consider it advisable to encourage the movement. He held his political opponents too cheap, and could not be brought to consider them worth the expense and trouble of organizing regiments, the management of which might greatly increase the administrative labours of the Government, without affording that reliable support which it could demand only from the regular military force of the country.

On the 10th of November the plot began to thicken. Mr. Hume, while presenting a petition from Marylebone, complaining of distress, launched out against taxation. Subsequently Mr. Brougham not only expressed himself satisfied with the disposition of the people, but referring to a recent gathering, assured the House that "a more innocent, a more peaceable, a more harmless, a more good-humoured assemblage he had never witnessed." After other public business had been got

through, the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid on the table papers containing an account of the Civil List expenditure. Mr. Hume threatened opposition, and gave notice of his intention, on the following Friday, of moving that the House do resolve itself into Committee, to consider so much of the King's speech as related to the subject.

The following day, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord Steward, laid on the table a copy of his Majesty's reply to the address presented to him by the House. After some more animadversion on the King's absence from the City feast, to which the Duke of Wellington replied, and the presentation of some petitions from the coal trade, the Earl of Winchelsea commenced a discussion on the employment of agricultural labourers, before moving his proposed Bill; which, after a reply from the Duke of Wellington, was suffered to be read a first time.

In the House of Commons, there was a long debate on the Subletting Act of Ireland, principally by the Irish members; and another on the state of the poor, in which they also played a principal part.

The House of Lords, on November the 12th, discussed the Kildare-street Dublin Society, and the outrages in Kent and Sussex. On the same day, in the Commons, after some business of minor importance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the House do resolve itself into committee for the purpose of bringing forward the subject of the

Civil List expenditure, as he had announced a few days before. It was well known that the Government measure about to be produced, was the first of a series in contemplation for retrenching the national expenses and lessening the burdens of the people, and it was not improbable that, if suffered to pass, it might also lessen that unpopularity which had been, with so much labour, excited against the Ministry. The Whigs and Radicals, therefore, had resolved to bring all their available force against it, and it will be seen by a reference to the speeches of the Opposition, how well suited were their tactics to realize their object.

The Minister under whose auspices the Bill was brought before the House of Commons, began by dwelling on the universal desire in England to promote the comfort of the Sovereign and the dignity of the Crown. He represented the people as so attached to monarchy that they not only maintained their kings in comfort and dignity, but had always upheld the throne in honour and splendour. He expressed himself satisfied that there never was a period in which a warmer or more sincere affection existed among his subjects for their King than the present, and recommended the measure he was about to introduce as a middle course between niggardly parsimony and undue extravagance. He then proceeded to describe the historical features of the subject, and said:—"Upon the death of Queen Anne, Parliament had to provide for a considerable

debt incurred on the Civil List—a debt amounting to 500,000*l*. On the death of George I., Parliament had to provide for a debt incurred upon the Civil List to the amount of one million. Upon the death of George II., Parliament had to pay half-a-million on account of debts incurred upon the Civil List which had been granted to that monarch. During the reign of George III. (which extended over so long a period, and in which the events were of a feature so stirring and peculiar), the debts on the Civil List amounted to something between three and four millions. I repeat, therefore,” he added, “I stand before the House in a peculiar and fortunate situation, in consequence of there now being at the close of a reign no debt to defray upon the Civil List granted to the late King. I say, sir,” he said, addressing the Speaker, “these circumstances are honourable to the Parliament by which the original arrangement was made; for it proves that it formed so accurate an estimate of what was necessary to maintain the honour and dignity of the Crown, that it became for the first time in the history of this country possible for a monarch to confine his expenditure within the limits assigned him at the settlement of the Civil List.”

After paying a compliment to the Parliament that had made the grant to the late King, and to George IV. for limiting his expenditure to its amount, he added, “We stand now in the situation

of having surrendered to us by his Majesty a greater revenue, greater in the value of its amount and greater in its number of various heads, than Parliament ever had at any former period when a settlement of the Civil List was called for. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to surrender to us not only the hereditary revenues of the Crown, which were also surrendered to us by the Sovereigns his predecessors, and which at this present moment amount to a sum not less than 800,000*l.* per annum, but his Majesty has also given up to us the casual revenues of the Crown, the *droits* of the Admiralty and *droits* of the Crown, the West India duties, and all the other casual revenues of the Crown, which were heretofore left to the peculiar and personal distribution and control of the Crown."

After dwelling on the importance of these concessions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered upon the consideration of the amount of Civil List which should render unnecessary the incurring of any debt by the Crown. He stated what this amount had been in the previous reign. "By the Civil List which was voted at the commencement of the last reign, the Sovereign enjoyed an allowance—for England, of 850,000*l.*, and for Ireland, of 207,000*l.* At that time it was thought advisable to leave the hereditary revenue of Scotland untouched, and that amounted to 109,000*l.* So far down, all were fixed allowances for the hereditary

revenues of the Crown in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Besides these permanent revenues, the droits of the Admiralty and the droits of the Crown were left in the power of the Sovereign, and they may be taken at an annual average of 32,600*l*. A compensation for additional diplomatic expenditure was allowed, amounting to 23,300*l*.; and the total of these various sums will amount very nearly to 1,221,000*l*., which was the expenditure during the last reign for the purposes of the Civil List.

"Now, sir," he continued, addressing the Speaker, "it is my intention to remove from the new Civil List certain charges heretofore imposed upon it, to which I shall advert at a future period. For the purposes of comparison it is necessary that these should be deducted from the sums allowed to his late Majesty. Therefore, on account of them I take off 166,000*l*. in answer for charges which will not be made in the new Civil List. This will leave in round numbers about 1,055,000*l*."

Subsequently he asked for a grant for the purposes of the new Civil List of 970,000*l*., which was 85,000*l*. less than had been allowed George IV. He then enumerated other savings that were to be effected, including 38,500*l*. a-year, the King's income when Duke of Clarence, 15,000*l*. upon contingencies, 10,000*l*. on the Irish Pension List—making altogether a gain to the nation of 161,000*l*. After referring to the allowance for the Queen's household, which was also to be defrayed from the

grant just stated, he divided the arrangements of the Civil List into classes, and pointed out the diminution of the charges on each about to be made.

Lord Althorp, after the motion had been put, recommended the appointment of a Select Committee to examine into the details of the proposed arrangement, of which he expressed his disapproval. Sir Henry Parnell spoke on the same side, expressing similar opinions. Mr. Hume succeeded, and in a long speech went into every detail, found fault with every proposition, and protested against the entire arrangement. He was followed by Mr. Brougham, who professed to agree with Lord Althorp, and, as evidently, was in full accordance with Mr. Hume. The bulk of his speech consisted of technical objections against the alleged surrender of the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he called a blunder in the King's speech.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had already called up four opponents whose sentiments must have prepared the Government for the combination that had been organized against them. Sir Robert Peel now rose, and soon proved that no blunder had been committed—at least on his side the House; he then not only went into a masterly defence of the measure, but exposed the gross misrepresentations that had been employed to excite prejudice against the Government. Mr. Brougham replied, advocating a Committee of Inquiry, and affirmed in opposition to a statement of the preceding speaker,

as to Mr. Fox having assented to a previous arrangement of the Civil List, that this statesman was then but twelve years old. This assertion again brought up Sir Robert Peel, who proved that Mr. Fox was in Parliament when Mr. Burke brought forward the Act by which the Civil List was divided into the different classes of expenditure it then contained, and that he did not oppose it.

The Attorney-General said a few words in reference to Mr. Brougham's misunderstanding of a very clear sentence; and Lord James Stuart defended his kinsman, the Marquis of Bute, from an allegation published in a placard that had been extensively circulated, that he was in receipt of 62,000*l.* a-year of the public money; which he characterized as an infamous falsehood. Lord Palmerston made the same kind of comments on the King's speech, in which his party had already so freely indulged; and then the House went into the subject of the West Indian trade with America. Slight discussions on one or two other topics of minor interest followed.

On the 15th of November, Lord Durham, in the House of Lords, while presenting a petition against the metropolitan police system, acknowledged the efficiency of the new police, but objected to the expense they brought upon parishes. Lord Suffield, Lord Rosslyn, and Lord Tenterden, defended the system. The Lord Chancellor then addressed the House at length, while bringing forward the Go-

vernment measure respecting the Regency, that would be necessary in case of the decease of the Sovereign before the Princess Victoria should attain the age of eighteen. He acknowledged it would be quite impossible that any individual could be recommended for that important office in preference to the illustrious mother of her Royal Highness, in consequence of the manner in which she had hitherto discharged her duty in superintending her daughter's education. It was therefore desirable that her Royal Highness should be appointed sole Regent, but not with the assistance of a council, in accordance with precedents established towards the close of the reign of George II., and in the fifty-first year of George III., but that she should be left to administer the Government by means of the responsible Ministers of the Crown. After some consideration on the contingency of a posthumous child, the speaker stated that the Bill would in that case constitute the Queen Regent during its minority. Lord Eldon having said a few words in commendation of the measure, the Bill was read a first time.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after Mr. O'Connell had presented a petition from two parishes in Westmeath, ostensibly complaining of distress, but in reality attacking the character of the Duke of Buckingham through an agent employed on a portion of his Irish estates—the Marquis of Chandos contradicted all the statements

that had been made, and assured the House that the gentleman against whom they had been directed was in town, ready to disprove them. He said that all the disturbance which had occurred in the parishes referred to, had arisen from the improper interference of the Roman Catholic priest, who had delivered inflammatory language from the altar of his chapel; and that a tenant of the Duke's, having been applied to lately for his rent, had refused to pay it, declaring he had been directed so to do by the priest, and that he would sooner go through hell fire than disobey his reverence. In short, that the tenants had been encouraged to withhold their rent as long as that gentleman should remain the Duke's agent. In conclusion, he expressed his hope that Mr. O'Connell would for the future examine the truth of assertions made in petitions before he presented them to the House.¹

The incendiaries in the home counties having been referred to, Mr. Hume mentioned the associations that had been entered into for mutual protection, accused Ministers of having been the cause of the mischief, and said that the only remedy for it was their removal.

Sir Robert Peel expressed his conviction that the last speaker did not mean what he had stated, and appealed to the House whether it was proper to hold out even a shadow of palliation for the late detestable proceedings. Mr. Hume said he had

¹ "Hansard." Third Series, i. 513.

been misunderstood. Sir Robert Peel disclaimed any intention of putting an unfair construction upon his expressions, but stated his opinion that his observations were but little calculated to put down incendiarism, if he wished to put it down; and were, at least, ill-timed.

Soon afterwards, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the order of the day be read, and that the House do go into a Committee upon the Civil List, when Sir Henry Parnell commenced the debate with a long speech, finding fault with all the details of the proposed arrangement. He ended by moving as an amendment, "That a Select Committee be appointed to examine the accounts presented to the House by order of his Majesty connected with the Civil List, and to report thereon."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then defended the details of the Government measure *seriatim*, and opposed the amendment. Mr. Bankes was in favour of a Committee; Mr. Calcraft against. Lord Althorp supported the amendment. Mr. C. W. Wynn gave an account of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Civil List on the death of George III. After two or three more declarations, the House divided, and the numbers were—On the original motion, 204. Against, 233. Majority against the Government, 29.

The following day the Duke of Wellington, from his place in the House of Lords, said:—

"My Lords, I deem it my duty to inform your

lordships, that in consequence of what occurred last night in the other House of Parliament, I felt it right to wait this morning on the King, and tender his Majesty the resignation of the office which I hold; that his Majesty has been pleased to accept my resignation; and that I continue in my present situation only till a successor shall have been appointed."

Sir Robert Peel made a similar announcement the same day in the House of Commons. Indeed, all the Ministers resigned; and their political opponents had now nothing to do but to step into their places. This, however, though apparently easy, required deliberation. The combination that had effected the overthrow of the Government was made up of many elements; a variety of claims were to be considered; and much as the leading Whigs may have desired to reward their followers, it was found impossible to satisfy them all. Some had places, some had to be contented with having them in prospect; some had gifts, some honours; the rest were paid in promises. It was rather embarrassing for a political party coming into power upon economical principles to find the means of retaining around them the force which had enabled them to overthrow their opponents. Even the shrewdest lookers-on, who saw most of the game, were not quite satisfied that the winning party would gain much by their triumph.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 17, 1830.

I fully expected that the result would be in both points such as it has been—that the question would be lost, and that the Government would resign.

Certainly it is a most terrible task that must fall upon their successors, be they who they may. God grant them wisdom to get through it for the safety of the country!

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 18, 1830.

I am sure I cannot wonder that there should be the greatest indisposition (were it, indeed, much greater than it is) to take office in the present state of Parliament and the country. Who can be so sanguine as to hope a good result from any labours he may bring to such a task?

The moment I know your wishes as to what is to be done *here*, I need not tell you that they are decisive with me, and I shall send my subscription to Salthill to-day.

Surely you did quite right, having been named to your office by the King, not to throw it at his head, because D. W. has resigned. But I have little doubt that your staff will be demanded of you.

At the date of this letter, the Duke of Buckingham had not resigned his post of Lord Steward, but did so shortly afterwards.

MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Seaham Hall, Sunderland, Nov. 18, 1830.

Although you have not sent me a line, my dear Duke, I too much apprehend the news this day here of the Duke's *fall* is true. I own it does not surprise me.

You will see, as I told you, Lord Grey will form a Government without *exclusion*. I shall be very glad to know what your ideas and views are. I think you will admit no man could treat another worse at the *eleventh hour* than the Duke did me. Not even thanks nor a *call* for my support. I suppose you will stand by the King, and keep the household office. Pray inform me *confidentially* what you think and intend doing, as *I know* the King would have wished to accomplish my object, and was arrested by the Duke. What am I to feel or think of him? There is no use in sending my proxy now.

Ever yours, most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

This country is quite quiet here.

By taking an unprejudiced view of the question on which the Duke of Wellington's Government had been displaced, and bearing in mind the proceedings of their successors on the same subject, the reader will see the hollowness of the professions that accompanied this attack. The Civil List expenses of William IV. would be framed under the superintendence of the Duke of Wellington with quite as close an approximation to a rational

economy, as was likely to be attempted by any of his political opponents. In truth, all that was said in opposition to the Government arrangements was of a thorough partisan character; no sincere objection was entertained; the pretext of cutting down pensions and getting rid of sinecures was useful in Parliament, as it was sure out of doors to obtain the approval of the multitude, who were taught to think that all the supporters of Ministers lived entirely at the public expense, and that the people were heavily taxed to provide them with the means of living luxuriously.

The Whigs had no real intention of interfering to any important extent with the Civil List; it was only at a later period, when they were driven into a corner, and knew not where to look for assistance, that they encouraged an attack upon pensions. The clamour raised against all who had obtained grants from the Crown for their services was a safe foundation to work upon; and misrepresentations on their nature and extent, though constantly exposed, were as constantly repeated, as a cheap means of exciting popular prejudice and obtaining popular support.

CHAPTER VI.

[1830.]

POLICY OF THE ULTRA-TORIES—THEIR PROPOSITION TO ASSIST THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO RETURN TO POWER—HIS REPLY—LORD
GRENVILLE'S COMMENTS ON THE DUKE'S PROCEEDINGS—AGRARIAN
DISTURBANCES—ORGANIZATION OF THE WHIG GOVERNMENT—
DISSATISFACTION OF THE RADICALS—EARL GREY'S DECLARATION
OF POLICY—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—THE REGENCY BILL
—THE PRINCESS VICTORIA—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON
AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

CHAPTER VI.

THE section of the Conservative party that had seceded from the ranks of the Duke of Wellington, had assisted materially in effecting the overthrow of his Government. So large a number of members had been absent at the division, and so many who ought to have voted for the measure had voted against it, it was impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that it was not so much the intention of such persons to bring Lord Grey in, as to turn the Duke of Wellington out. Hardly, however, had they succeeded in producing the Duke's downfall, than they appear to have entertained misgivings as to its advantage to them, and opened a communication with him suggesting his return to office with their assistance. The manner in which this was met is highly characteristic of the Duke; indeed, it is difficult to point out a document written so thoroughly in his peculiar style as the following :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, Nov. 21, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The Government is scarcely yet at an end, and the gentlemen to whom its dissolution is to be attributed in a great degree, propose that I should think of forming another upon a broader basis !

Would this be fair to the King ? Would it be consistent in myself ? Could such a scheme succeed, if I was capable of thinking of it ?

I have been defeated in my attempt to serve the public. I will not say that I will not serve again, as I am going into Hants to serve the King in another capacity, as soon as I shall be relieved from the Government. But this I will say : I will not now join a scheme for getting together another Administration.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c. &c.

It may now be generally admitted that the Duke had fair cause of complaint, and was not likely to be in a disposition to enter into any relations with those to whom he attributed his defeat ; on the other hand, it must be allowed that he had in a measure provoked his fate. He had given way to popular excitement against his own convictions, and without effecting the promised benefits for the community at large, had opened the door of concession wide enough to excite hopes of getting the opening

enlarged at every successive demand, till there came an opportunity for a rush that left him outside. To the remonstrances of those who had foreseen the consequences, he would not listen; while he made it unpleasantly plain to them that he cared as little for their support as for their opposition. He had fallen into another mistake, which may be regarded as an acknowledgment of the one already committed. He tried to close the door he had unwarily opened. Early in the session, the Duke had hazarded a declaration that he saw no necessity for reform, and would oppose its introduction, which was fiercely commented on by his political opponents in Parliament and out. Probably, if the Minister could have foreseen the mischievous use that would be made of his sentiments, he would have spoken less confidently. He spoke, however, as his Grace always did, with thorough manliness and sincerity, well aware that the clamour on the subject had been got up for party purposes, and that the people for whom parliamentary reform was brought forward as a panacea for every ill that had affected or could affect them, would receive little, if any, material benefit from it in any shape. Lord Grenville seems to have taken this view of the case, which he thus expresses :—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 21, 1830.

I think you did quite right to resign. It would not have appeared creditable to you to hesitate in such a case. But, on the other hand, I should in your circumstances be very slow in committing myself to the ranks of any Opposition that may arise. *Voir venir* is, I think, your true course.

Certainly, never was any man less of a parliamentary reformer, *in principle*, than myself. But that matter, like others, has been suffered to get to a head in popular opinion (and I speak not here merely of mob clamour), in which it is much easier to point out what has occasioned the present difficulty of meeting that question, than how it is best now to be met.

It is quite evident that the D. of W. took the worst course upon it; and I am myself much inclined to believe that he said—what is not uncommon with a man so little used to measure his words—much more than he had intended. It has been most unfortunate for him, and not less so for the question.

Absolute resistance, *in limine*, to *any* reform, is manifestly no longer practicable; a disposition must be professed, and acted upon, to consider such propositions in detail, judging of every one of them on its own merits, and not adopting them merely because they will work a change, unless it is also shown that such change is in itself beneficial.

Lord Londonderry, on seeing the announcement of Lord Hill's appointment to the command of the

regiment the King had expressed a wish that he should have, was, as may be supposed, not very well pleased; but it is evident from his communication that he was indisposed to take any active share in politics in the present state of things. He had shown his perfect disinterestedness at a critical period for the Minister, and had not received for it even a civil acknowledgment.

MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Seaham Hall, Sunderland, Nov. 22, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You know fully my principles and sentiments, and my ardour and zeal in any cause I embark in.

If I could do *any good*, I would not only go up to town, but to the Land's End if necessary. You are better than any one apprised of the mode in which my feeble exertions at the moment of danger were appreciated. And when H. M. wished to confer a favour, you are aware *how* and by *whom* it was arrested. As is natural, all this creates apathy, and anything but a desire to *volunteer*. Besides, I learn the Duke has intimated he does not mean to take office again; and Peel, in his farewell address to his party, expressed his dislike to public life, would hear of no organized opposition, and said he should support the monarchy under all this *carte du pays*; and as I was in no degree a member of the late Government, and as when, at their sinking, I did not get a civil word for supporting them, I think my most prudent line is to remain quietly where I am. I shall always feel most thankful to you for the part you have

acted towards me. And I cannot but believe that while negotiating for your friend you must have felt how ill he was treated, as much as you would had you been in his position. Lord Hill's having the Blues, and remaining, looks strongly as if the Duke was still to pull the strings of the army, behind.

Ever yours, most sincerely,

V. L.

The disturbances in the country had not been put down by the speeches of Mr. Hume. As Sir Robert Peel had stated, they were very little calculated to produce such an effect. What share they had in encouraging the rioters, it is not necessary now to explain. Let it suffice to know that the evil had so greatly extended, that the Duke of Wellington's Government had thought proper to issue a proclamation offering a reward of 50*l.* for every person convicted as authors or perpetrators of the outrages, and 500*l.* for the conviction of an incendiary. The associations, however, that were being organized over the disturbed districts, did more towards putting an end to the frightful demoralization of the rural population than anything else ; and among the persons of influence who made themselves conspicuous in calling such societies into existence, was the Duke of Buckingham. A communication he wrote on the subject is thus commented on :—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 23, 1830.

Your letter, my dear Duke, gave me very great pleasure, as it has done to many to whom I have read it, and I have just forwarded it to Dropmore.

In truth, it is an excellent example, and will have the best effect in showing everybody that they must resist for themselves, and that if they do, they are almost sure to succeed; whereas if every gentleman sits in his arm-chair and expects to be defended in Wiltshire by the Horse Guards and new police, the rioters will soon be the masters of the country.

I hear no news. . The papers will show you how early the reforming lords are in their attack upon Lord Grey.

God bless you, my dear Duke.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

The labours of those engaged in forming a new Ministry were at last brought to a conclusion, and they produced the following changes:—

<i>Office.</i>	<i>Present Government.</i>	<i>Late Government.</i>
First Lord of the Treasury	Karl Grey . . .	Duke of Wellington.
Lord Chancellor . . .	Mr. Brougham . . .	Lord Lyndhurst.
Lord President of Privy Council . . .	Marquis of Lansdowne . . .	Earl Bathurst.
Privy Seal . . .	Lord Durham . . .	Earl of Rosalyn.
Home Secretary . . .	Viscount Melbourne . . .	Sir Robert Peel.
Under Secretary . . .	Hon. G. Lamb . . .	Mr. Yates Peel.
Colonial Secretary . . .	Viscount Goderich . . .	Sir G. Murray.
Under Secretary . . .	Lord Howick . . .	Mr. Horace Twiss.
Foreign Secretary . . .	Viscount Palmerston . . .	Earl of Aberdeen.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Viscount Althorp . . .	Mr. Goulburn.
First Lord of the Admiralty . . .	Sir James Graham . . .	Viscount Melville.

<i>Office.</i>	<i>Present Government.</i>	<i>Late Government.</i>
President of the Board of Control	Right Hon. C. Grant	Lord Ellenborough.
President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint	Lord Auckland	Mr. Harries.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Holland	Mr. Arbuthnot.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Marquis of Anglesea	Duke of Northumberland.
Lord Chamberlain	Duke of Devonshire	Earl of Jersey.
Postmaster-General	Duke of Richmond	Duke of Manchester.
Master of the Horse	Earl of Albemarle	Duke of Leeds.
Lord Steward	Marquis Wellealey	Duke of Buckingham.
Judge Advocate	Mr. R. Grant	Sir J. Beckett.
Woods and Forests	Hon. A. Ellis	Lord Lowther.
Paymaster-General	Lord J. Russell	Mr. Calcraft.
Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy	Mr. Chas. P. Thomson	Mr. F. Lewis.
Secretary for Ireland	Mr. E. G. S. Stanley	Sir H. Hardinge.
Master-General of the Ordnance	Sir W. Gordon	Viscount Barendson.
Surveyor-General of the Ordnance	Sir R. Spencer	Sir H. Fane.
Secretaries of the Treasury	Mr. Edward Elliot Mr. Spring Rice	Mr. Joseph Planta. Mr. Geo. B. Dawson.
Master of the King's Buckhounds	Viscount Anson	Lord Maryborough.
Attorney-General	Mr. Denman	Sir J. Scarlett.
Solicitor-General	Mr. Horne	Sir E. B. Sugden.
Lord Chancellor for Ireland	Lord Plunkett	Sir A. Hart.
Attorney-General for Ireland	Mr. Pennesfather	Mr. Joy.
Solicitor-General for Ireland		Mr. Doherty.
Lord Advocate for Scotland	Mr. Francis Jeffrey	Sir John Rae.
Solicitor-General	Mr. James Cockburn	Mr. Hope.

Lord Nugent, Mr. Robert Vernon Smith, Mr. Francis Thornhill Baring, and the Hon. George Ponsonby, were associated with Lord Althorp and Lord Grey, in the new Treasury Board, and the new Admiralty Board consisted of Sir James Graham, Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, Admiral G. H. L.

Dundas, Captain Sir S. B. Pechell, and Captain the Hon. George Barington. Mr. Charles Williams Wynn was not only announced as Secretary at War, but as one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India. Viscount Granville was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of the French. Mr. Brougham was created a peer, and the Solicitor and Attorney-Generals were knighted.

This distribution of the prizes did not satisfy all who had, or fancied they had, tickets in the political lottery. In particular, the Radicals were not as fortunate as they had anticipated they should be. Indeed, when we consider the democratic sympathy that had been so frequently avowed by the Whigs in Parliament and on the hustings, it is surprising that they should have ventured to form a Government which was in its elements far more aristocratic than its predecessor. It was a reflection on the capacity of the Radicals, to which, though the latter were not at first disposed to submit, they eventually reconciled themselves, on the plea that it was against their principles to become placemen. Still less agreeable to them was the declaration the new Prime Minister made in the House of Peers immediately on entering office, that he would not support any of what he called the fanciful and extensive plans of reform advocated by persons out of doors, which would lead, he acknowledged, not to reform, but to confusion. Lord Grey said more than this; for he added "I do not support, I never

have supported universal suffrage and annual parliaments, nor any other of those very extensive changes which have been, I regret to say, too much promulgated in this country, and promulgated by gentlemen from whom better things might have been expected.”¹

This was “the unkindest cut of all;” certain politicians who had spoken so immediately to the people were disavowed in unequivocal language. The Minister having done this, gave the strongest possible assurances that he was not disposed to meddle with the settled institutions of the country, and would have nothing to do with fanciful alterations, which he acknowledged, if they could be carried into effect, would produce no result except that of occasioning a lamentable collision between the several orders of the State, the firm union and mutual interests of which, he said, it would ever be his object to maintain.

He intimated that a measure of parliamentary reform was under consideration, but that it demanded time and deliberation, and promised that the state of the country should have the immediate attention of himself and his colleagues. He declared that it was his determined resolution whenever outrages were perpetrated, or excesses were committed, to suppress them with severity and vigour, as severity was the only remedy that could successfully be applied to such disorders.

¹ “Hansard,” Third Series, i. 600.

Here, again, was "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the advocates of Captain Swing—their occupation was gone—indeed, these gentlemen might, if they spoke favourably of the incendiaries, entitle themselves to that severity which was about to be employed for the suppression of their clients.

Lord Grey then promised economy—promised to maintain the public credit—promised to preserve a proper relation with the allies of Great Britain; in short, judging from his professions, a more promising Administration than his own it was impossible to imagine.

The first symptom of a storm from the Radical quarter of the political compass appeared in a speech that was then delivered by Lord Radnor, who assured the new Government that the parliamentary reformation they contemplated would be rejected as insufficient by the whole country; and he warned the Prime Minister that he would spread dismay and confusion throughout the kingdom, should he fail to bring forward a reform on an extensive scale.¹

Lord Grey in reply, did not seem inclined to give way; indeed, he plainly said that those for whom the last speaker had spoken, expected revolution and not reform. The Marquis of Lansdowne also addressed the House to the same purpose. Lord Wharncliffe ventured to make some suggestions to

¹ "Hansard."

the Government, and cautioned the Minister against being led too much by mere popular applause. He said that the people had been persuaded that the most extravagant benefits would result from reform, but he was assured that if it were granted to-morrow, in the largest sense, it would not relieve their sufferings. The Earl of Carnarvon acknowledged that, though he was a well-wisher to the cause of reform, he was satisfied it could afford no remedy to the existing distress. Lord Grey replied in a few words, in which he told the advocates of extensive and extravagant alterations that they ought to have shown the new Government the civility of waiting till their measures should be submitted to them.

On the 22nd of November, the House of Commons had a series of small discussions on subjects of temporary interest, followed by a speech from Mr. Hume, withdrawing his motion on the reduction of official salaries; he was also obliged by the Speaker to withdraw a petition he presented. A conversation on election committees followed. The next day, Mr. Croker made a violent attack on Lord Brougham, for having accepted office in the teeth of a recent declaration to the contrary. The Lord Chancellor was warmly defended by Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Macaulay, and Lord Morpeth. This conversation preceded discussions on colonial slavery, on the adjournment of the House, and the Lieutenant-General of the

Ordinance; and the presentation of a petition by Mr. Wyse caused a debate upon the distress existing in Ireland.

In the House of Peers, on the 25th, Lord Durham brought forward two petitions praying for the abolition of the new police. Lord King presented a petition from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation of London, praying for a reform in Parliament; and a few remarks were made by Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Grey on the Regency Bill. On the same day the House of Commons had a slight discussion on church rates; other business of little importance was afterwards proceeded with. The following day in the Lords, on Lord Grosvenor presenting some petitions, Lord Brougham entered upon a defence of his conduct, the substance of which was, that he was not surprised to find other people wondering at his acceptance of office; for in fact, no one could be more astonished by it than he had been himself.

On the 29th of November there was a debate in the Upper House on the state of the country, in the course of which Lord Carbery exposed the nature of the proceedings of Mr. O'Connell in Ireland. The Marquis of Salisbury then moved for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of the poor laws. The following day there was a discussion in the same branch of the Legislature on amendments in law proceedings, while the House of Commons had its

attention taken up with election petitions and the expense of the new police.

In the Lords, on the 2nd of December, the Lord Chancellor made a very long oration on the courts of local jurisdiction, while bringing forward a Bill for their reformation. The same day the Commons considered several questions of temporary interest. On the 3rd, the Duke of Newcastle, in the House of Peers, complained of a libel that had been published in the *Morning Chronicle*; and Lord Lyndhurst, when the report of the Regency Bill was brought up, moved this additional clause:—

. “That in the case of the Duchess of Kent becoming Regent, and the Princess Victoria desiring to marry before she attained the age of eighteen, she should not be permitted to marry a foreigner without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament; and that in case the Duchess of Kent should marry a foreigner in the lifetime of his Majesty, but without his consent, she should by that act forfeit all pretensions to the Regency under this Bill.”¹

The position of the Princess attracted towards her Royal Highness the solicitude and sympathy of all classes of the people. A proper consideration of her chance of succeeding to the throne showed that there was much at stake, and the bitter disappointment caused by the untimely fate of the last female heiress presumptive gave deeper feeling to the interest with which she was regarded. It was desirable

¹ “Hansard.”

that her youth should be, as much as possible, watched over to protect it from all evil contingencies, and though there could not be a better guardian for the Princess than the one nature had provided her with, the anxiety of a nation demanded precautions that, under other circumstances, would have been considered totally unnecessary. We can now afford to smile on the jealous affection with which her Royal Highness was fenced round thirty years ago.

In the meantime, the disturbed state of the rural districts had undergone some amelioration. Though the inflammatory language that had been wont to proceed from certain persons in the House of Commons and elsewhere had ceased since the organization of the Whig Government, the hatred against property and authority they inculcated had spread to such an extent that Ministers found it difficult to deal with the evil effectually. Notwithstanding Lord Grey's threats of severity, no extraordinary measures were taken to give additional powers to the magistracy. It was confidently stated that the acts of incendiarism proceeded from foreigners; but the Duke of Wellington in his place in Parliament had disproved this, while expressing his conviction that they afforded evidence of a conspiracy of some kind.

In the following communication the Duke states his views on this subject, and refers to some points in Lord Grey's policy.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, Dec. 4, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received your letter of the 1st from Avington. I concur in your reflections upon the incautious promises to raise wages to twelve shillings a-week. Those who would suffer most from such a general measure would be the labouring classes themselves.

We shall do no good with the poor and poor laws till the gentlemen of the country and the clergy will themselves attend the parish vestries.

I think it fortunate that the outrages commenced as they did in Hampshire, and were aimed at once at the pockets of those who had anything in them. Not a life has been lost, but little concession has been made, and little property destroyed by open outrage. In the meantime, those who have something to lose have learnt how to associate and resist, and they will be better prepared for what we may yet have to do.

I believe that the Government have confirmed all that we had done about Belgium, and they profess and follow our course. In the meantime, the French are arming and talking of war, which in our time was never whispered.

I have heard nothing of their plan of reform. I refer you to the discussion of last night in the House of Lords, and to the comments of the *Morning Chronicle* of this morning upon the same for a notion of the relations of

the Government with the ultra Tories. I have no relation with them whatever.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

The Duke's disclaimer of any connexion with his old political friends shows that his feelings against them had undergone no alteration. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the party remained as a kind of political briar, that kept unpleasantly reminding him of their vicinity, despite of his constant attempts to keep at a safe distance. He insisted on his complete independence: he proclaimed his entire isolation; nevertheless, they were a constant thorn in his side, and do what he would, and say what he would, he continued to experience their uncomfortable influence. It was some time before he grew in the slightest degree reconciled to their association, and then submitted with the spirit of an enforced penitent to an unpleasant penance.

It is impossible to read the following note without a feeling of sympathy for the writer. He was a statesman in the truest sense of the term, whose inclinations had ever been to advance the social position of his countrymen; but he could not fail to observe the retrograde motion they had lately been content with, under the auspices of leaders

who wanted every qualification as guides. He laments his age and infirmities, but only for rendering him helpless in a crisis that demanded the best services of every real patriot; and warmly commends the proceedings of his correspondent, who was setting a good example to members of his order by his vigilance and activity.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 7, 1830.

I have been unwell, my dearest nephew, and quite unable to write on all that is passing. Would I could also keep myself from thinking of it!

You are quite right in believing that all that has passed *here*, in any way *untoward*, has arisen from the utter helplessness that there has been wherever help was to be looked for. But I have no right to reproach others, for a more helpless being than myself cannot be found in this hundred or county, or in any other.

S * * * * is no friend of mine, though you call him so, nor, I hope, any enemy of mine. I never saw him in my life. His father, the D.C.L., I knew, and he was in my yeomanry when I also, instead of groaning over this tide of evil that has now come back upon us, was capable of exerting myself to resist it. But I was then in health and in my fourth decade, not paralytic and in my eighth.

I do not know what I could do with your arms, for the offer of which, however, I heartily thank you. I can only say, in the usual language of helplessness, I hope we shall now have no occasion for them.

Of politics I think as little as possible. I fear you

are quite right in saying that our revolution is, I should indeed say not *begun*, but *far advanced*. It is, as usual in such cases, very easy to point out, and to condemn, the long course of misconduct continued quite up to this actual moment, which has brought us into this fearful condition. But it is very difficult, if not impossible, to show what can now stop the mischief. Concession and resistance are questions not to be treated now in abstract propositions of the general policy of either, but with a most delicate and difficult reference to the actual state of the country in which they are to be pursued. Some proportion of both these must quite evidently now be, and so indeed it always is in such a crisis. And what is to be the extent and limits of each is just now one of the most difficult problems that any man can be called to decide and act upon.

I am sure that under such circumstances of public danger you will mean to do right, and I heartily pray that you may do what really is best for the country. For myself, I am a poor, infirm and superannuated passenger, sharing in all the danger of the storm, but wholly incapable of aiding to keep the vessel in a safe course, if indeed there is any such open to her.

I have written more than I thought I could, and the doing so does me no good, but, on the contrary, all possible harm.

I quite approve of your increasing the yeomanry, and wonder that you do not write *officially* to Lord Melbourne to represent the *evident* necessity of extending the special commission to this county.

I have no fear of anybody involving us in war. The truth is (I should be sorry that France or America overheard me), our entering on any such course just now is

as much a physical impossibility as it would be for me to set about (as you say) drilling my servants and labourers.

I do not think even Polignac's ordinances much worse considered than the King's speech, and still more the Duke's.

The reference in the last paragraph, to the state of things existing in France, does not show that sense of impending evil which breathes throughout the rest of the communication; but the writer's vision was so engrossed by the dangers at hand that he could not attend sufficiently to the indications of the coming storm that became visible afar off. In truth, public feeling in England was in so diseased a state that the symptoms were quite sufficient to absorb the attention of such a spectator as Lord Grenville describes himself to be.

The success of the pioneers of liberation had been felt at the extreme links of the social scale in England; each of the latter fancying itself unfavourably placed, desired to advance, and as it was represented to them that great advantages were to be gained by the easy process of displacement, there was increasing commotion along the whole line to get rid of the higher links, and constitute themselves the head of the chain. The changes of this nature produced by the French Revolution were constantly quoted by a certain class of politicians, who, however, carefully ignored the tyranny it prepared; but all who had nothing to lose and everything to gain by such upside-down arrangements were sure to

turn an attentive ear to representations so much to their profit.

A sense of wrong was instilled by way of additional excitement, and rank and wealth were, as in the Reign of Terror, represented as only to be regarded as the symbols of despotism and injustice. Some pains may have been taken to discriminate between Whig and Tory offenders in this way, but had a revolution commenced, the distinguishing marks would soon have been lost sight of.

CHAPTER VII.

[1830-1.]

ILLEGAL PROCESSIONS—INSANE ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—HIS SPEECH ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY—DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT—PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PUT DOWN AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES—IRELAND—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS—REVOLUTION IN POLAND—TRIAL OF PRINCE POLIGNAC AND HIS COADJUTORS—POLITICAL PROSPECTS ON THE OPENING OF THE NEW YEAR—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE STATE OF PARTIES—INDICATIONS OF A FEEL PARTY—PROPOSALS FOR A NEW COMBINATION.

CHAPTER VII.

ON the sixth of December, the Regency Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords and passed. On the same day the House of Commons had discussions on reform, repeal of the Union, salaries, pensions, and distress, till the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, when several grants were sanctioned—without the slightest opposition from Mr. Hume. On the following day, Lord Althorp gave notice of motions for a Select Committee on Salaries and Emoluments, and for a Committee of Supply to take the Civil List into consideration. Subsequently various other public business was entered upon.

On the 8th, in the Upper House a startling event occurred that created much excitement. During the day, one of those mischievous demonstrations had taken place which the working classes had lately commenced, with the object of intimidating persons of influence in or out of Parliament opposed to their pretensions as a new power in the State. This was a procession of working men, styling themselves the United Trades of the City of London, through the principal metropolitan

thoroughfares. Three individuals had obtained leave from Lord Melbourne to present an address to his Majesty at the levee, immediately after which a handbill was issued calling upon all the trades to accompany the deputation; a vast number presently assembled, and were permitted to follow out their intention.

The Duke of Wellington complained of the procession as illegal; and the effect it was likely to produce was shown by the arrest in the House of Lords of a man armed with dangerous weapons, who was committed to Newgate, to take his trial for an attempt to murder.

On the same day, in the Commons, Mr. Strutt presented a petition from working men at Derby, praying for a repeal of the stamp duty. The sentiments it expressed may be gathered from the following passage addressed to the popular Government: "You prevent the poor acquiring knowledge, and then punish them for what is the effect of ignorance. Leave us to ourselves, and we will educate ourselves." The cause of this outburst of indignation was—these Derby operatives had started a penny newspaper, intentionally to evade the stamp duty. The Stamp Office had given them notice that they were infringing the law, and the speculation was abandoned. The presentation of this petition was followed by a short debate on the duties upon sea-borne coals.

In the Lords, the following day, Lord Wyn-

ford brought forward his proposed motion on the state of the country with a speech that entered minutely into the subject. He ended with a motion for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. The Earl of Rosebery objected, because, as he said, he had confidence in the intention of the Government to remedy all existing evils. The Earl of Eldon was fully impressed with the necessity for such a Committee, and supported the motion. Lord King attacked the last speaker, and was against any inquiry. The Earls of Winchelsea and Stanhope also supported the motion.

The Earl of Radnor spoke against it, and stated, that if he had had a seat in the other House of Parliament, he should have voted for an impeachment of the late Government, for having caused the embarrassments under which the nation laboured. He was proceeding in a violent tone of declamation when he was called to order. On resuming his speech, Lord Radnor proceeded to state objections against the proposed Committee, and to state his confidence in the professions of Ministers.

The Duke of Wellington opposed the motion. He had not, he said, attempted to extenuate the dangerous condition of the country, but would most emphatically deny that it had any connexion with the late Government, or that it could in any way be said to originate in any portion of the policy pursued by him and his colleagues.

“No,” added the Duke, “the dangers and dis-

turbances with which some districts of the country have been some time infested, have sprung from very different causes, among which the example—I will unhesitatingly say, the bad example—afforded by the neighbouring States has been the most influential, as it has been the most pernicious. This has been encouraged and heightened by the misrepresentations and false ideas that have been too generally circulated throughout the country, of the causes and the character of the unfortunate events which occurred last summer in an adjoining kingdom; and above all, by a want of knowledge on the part of the people of the real nature of those events, and of the mischiefs sure to follow from imitating them.”¹

This was, indeed, the true state of the case: the exciting pictures of the late revolt that had been sown broadcast over the kingdom, added to the constant abuse of the Duke of Wellington’s Government by the ultra-Radicals, had driven the labouring classes from disaffection to riot; and the directors of the movement having succeeded in overthrowing one Ministry, thought they might carry on the game till they had got rid of all Government except such as should be under their own control.

The Duke of Wellington entered into a masterly exposition of the nature of the evils under which the country laboured: these, he said, were beyond the reach or control of any Administration.

¹ “Hansard,” Third Series, i. 874.

He subsequently stated that he and his coadjutors had done all that was immediately within their power to relieve the people, and during last session had taken off taxation to the extent of 3,950,000%.

Earl Grey entered upon the subject at considerable length, denying the necessity of a Committee, but allowing, with the Duke of Wellington, that occurrences which had taken place in other countries had had some effect in aggravating the evils complained of, and had been taken advantage of by evil-disposed persons to operate on the minds of the unthinking or of the unhappy and discontented.

This was very different language to that employed by the speaker on a previous occasion when referring to the revolutionary demonstrations on the Continent. He, however, did not then feel the responsibilities of a Minister.

Lord Grey continued to animadvert on the proceedings of a section of his late supporters in strong terms. He said he hoped it would not be necessary to use the sword of the law further than for the punishment of those who instigated to outrage the simple and undesigning. He hoped that they would be brought to justice, and at the same time he trusted that everything would be done to remove that distress which had brought the people into such a temper that mischievous men could obtain an influence over their minds. Lord Grey acknowledged that he "concurred in a great part of the policy of the late Administration;" and attributed

the existing distress to bad measures that had been in operation since the American War and the first French Revolution.

The debate was continued by a few more speakers expressing their opinions *pro* and *con.*, but in the end the motion was negatived without a division.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, during the presentation of petitions for parliamentary reform, when Mr. O'Connell threatened to bring forward a motion if the Government delayed it, some personalities were indulged in between him and Sir Robert Wilson. Subsequently O'Gorman Mahon, on presenting a petition for repeal of the Union, complained of a personal attack. Then followed a long discussion on the grand juries of Ireland. Lord Althorp moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the salaries of public officers. This produced an animated debate, during which Sir Francis Burdett expressed his confidence in the good intentions of the present Administration. The motion was agreed to, and the Committee named.

Lord Althorp then moved the second reading of the Regency Bill, when Sir Charles Wetherell wished to add two clauses. The first related to the position of the Princess Victoria on the demise of the King, and was thus worded: "Her said Royal Highness shall be, and be deemed and taken to be, and is hereby declared to be, the actual Sovereign of these realms, subject to the limitation hereinafter

mentioned." The limitation existed only in the chance of the birth of a posthumous child, and the proposed clause ran thus: "That immediately on the birth of such child, the Sovereign title shall descend to him or her; and it is hereby declared that the Princess Victoria's right shall cease and determine; and that such child shall be, and shall be deemed and taken to be, and is hereby declared to be, the lawful Sovereign of these realms, in the same manner as if he had succeeded the Princess Victoria in the possession of the throne of these realms."¹

It was not explained how this suppositious offspring was to succeed to—that is, to follow—when he or she must inevitably precede the existing heiress. The Bill, however, was read a second time and ordered to be committed the following day.


On the 10th of December, the Earl of Radnor, in the House of Lords, on presenting a petition, attacked the late Government. The Duke of Wellington defended it, and stated that the Poor Law Committee, which had often been put forward as a measure of the present Administration, had actually been consented to by himself and by his colleagues. The House then entered upon the subject of slavery in the colonies, when the Lord Chancellor attacked Lord Stanhope, who had in a previous speech ventured to make some reflections upon him.

On the same day, in the Commons, after

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, i. 955.

a number of small discussions on various subjects, Mr. Grove Price asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if the Government had been aware of the intention of those large masses of the people that had accompanied the deputation to present the address to his Majesty at St. James's Palace, to form a procession in the midst of which was a revolutionary banner. Lord Althorp stated, it was not understood by the Secretary of State that any such demonstration would have been attempted when he granted permission for a deputation from the Trades Unions to present their address; he then spoke of the peaceable demeanour of the procession and of the harmlessness of the tricoloured flag. Sir Robert Peel doubted that such a flag had been borne by any member of the deputation, though he considered the assemblage of so numerous a body and its passage through the public thoroughfares illegal. Lord John Russell admitted that it was not legal. After a few words on the right of petitioning, the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, and subsequently went into Committee on the Regency Bill.

On the 11th of December, the time of the House of Commons was taken up by a discussion on the repeal of the Union, followed by the presentation of petitions on the subject. On the 13th, in the Lords, Lord Grosvenor made a speech respecting the conduct of the Ministers with reference to recent appointments, and moved for an



account of salaries of the clerks and officers of the House exceeding 1000*l*. The Marquis of Lansdowne explained the appointment of Mr. Bathurst as Clerk of the Council. He promised a reduction of some salaries, and said that retrenchment should always be a duty of his Majesty's Government, but that they would not sanction such a reduction as must prevent the public service being adequately performed.

The Duke of Wellington stated that it had been the intention of the late Ministry to reduce the salaries; explained to whom he had granted pensions when about to leave office, and proved their strict propriety. Earl Grey defended the appointments he had made, particularly those filled by members of his own family. After a few more observations the motion was agreed to.

The same day, in the Commons, one of the principal subjects debated was slavery in the West India colonies, the Marquis of Chandos having presented a petition from the planters, exposing the manner in which petitions had been got up in England for abolition, and praying for compensation for any loss or depreciation of their property that measure might occasion. He said the condition of the colonies called loudly for relief, and directed the serious attention of the Government to the subject. A good deal of declamation followed, but Mr. Macaulay stated that he thought, and believed the public thought, that compensation ought to be

given. He defended the Anti-Slavery Society, and deprecated party recrimination, recommending all persons to consider the question like statesmen and legislators. He felt confidence in the Government to bring it forward in a proper manner, but desired it to be considered temperately, avoiding all irritation, and with a sincere desire to come to a calm and deliberate decision that should do justice to every interest.

Sir Robert Peel said that it was impossible to overrate the enormous difficulties the question presented to the House, and also recommended caution and moderation of language. After referring to the violent tone in which one of the anti-slavery speakers had indulged (Mr. Fowell Buxton), he directed the attention of Parliament to the obstacles in the way of emancipation, and the mischiefs likely to arise from improper interference. He observed that such were a few of the evils which were likely to flow from intemperate expressions, and a too hasty compliance with the views of the abolitionists. He therefore entreated the House to pause until members could fairly approach the evils all ardently desired to see mitigated, but which never could be effectually dealt with unless they looked as much at the pecuniary rights of individuals, as to what was of greater importance, the permanent welfare of the slave.

Mr. O'Connell was opposed to granting compensation; and Lord Althorp thought every exertion

should be made to render the negro worthy of the station to which he would be raised by emancipation.


Another discussion took place on unnecessary places, which elicited attacks on the pension list from Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell, the last referring severely to recent judicial appointments in Ireland. Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell defended the Government. Mr. Hobhouse acknowledged that the late Ministers had gone as far in retrenchment as the corrupt system of the House of Commons and of the constitution of the Government had permitted them. The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, and another debate ensued, in which reduction, the foreign policy of the country, and existing distress, were much dwelt upon.

On the 14th, Lord King made a speech against the Established Church, while presenting a petition respecting tithes. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Marquis of Bute defended the Church. Short discussions followed on repealing the duty on sea-borne coals, and on landlords' rights in Scotland. On the same day, in the Commons, there were various discussions on subjects of minor interest; the evils of the truck system taking up much the greater portion of the sitting; Mr. Littleton having moved to bring in a Bill to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the Payment of Wages in Goods,

which passed by a majority of one hundred and forty.

On the following day there was a long debate on the magistracy of Ireland, but a motion on the subject brought forward by the O'Gorman Mahon was withdrawn. On the 16th, while other public business was proceeding, Mr. Trevor pointed out to the Attorney-General the mischievous character of a passage in *Cobbett's Register*. Mr. Hume then directed attention to a petition for reform in Church and State. The Marquis of Chandos moved that the Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a *supersedeas* to the writ that had been issued for the election of two members for the borough of Evesham. This produced a long debate, but the motion was carried without opposition. It was followed by Mr. John Campbell, in a long speech, moving for leave to bring in a Bill for establishing a General Register for all Deeds and Instruments affecting real Property in England and Wales, which, after some observations, was granted. Sir E. Sugden then called the attention of the House to the administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, concluding with a motion. During his speech Mr. Hume indulged in a most improper interruption, which a subsequent explanation did not render more creditable to him.

The following day the House went into various subjects of temporary interest, and entered more fully into a consideration of the state of the labour-



ing population. Very little public business had made any progress in the House of Lords during the last few days, but on the 20th, the Lord Chancellor brought forward a motion for a return of the number of lunatics under his care, a return of the sums ordered for their maintenance, and an estimate of the total value of their estates. On the same day in the House of Commons the recent legal appointments in Ireland were again discussed; this was followed by an adjourned debate on the Court of Chancery. It produced no division, as there were not forty members present when the House was counted.

On the 21st a protracted debate occurred in the House of Commons on parliamentary reform, in which Mr. Hume was again called to order by the Speaker; there was also a discussion on the inconveniences of tithes, which was brought to a conclusion by counting the House. On the following day in the House of Lords speeches were made on the state of the country by Lord Farnham and Earl Grey. On the 23rd, Mr. A. Trevor directed the attention of the Lower House to the inflammatory language that had been published in *Cobbett's Register*. In the course of an able speech he referred to the opinions of "a noble and learned lord of high character in the other House"—Lord Grenville; but after some remarks from Mr. Bulwer and Lord Althorp, he withdrew the motion he had submitted to the House on the subject.

After one or two matters of minor interest had been disposed of, there arose a conversation on the pensions upon the Civil List, which was followed by two discussions on Irish measures, and some remarks on the claims of the Church of England.

The House then separated for the Christmas holidays, but very little public business of any importance had been forwarded since the commencement of the session, the time having been taken up by declamatory talk addressed to the lower classes.

The disturbances in the rural districts had been met by the Government with measures that showed some appreciation of the magnitude of the danger. A circular letter was issued by the Secretary of the Home Department, dated December 8th, addressed to the magistrates of various counties, calling upon them to act with energy and firmness in resisting all injurious and unreasonable demands, and in defending the rights of property against menace and violence of every description. Several special commissions were also issued for the purpose of trying rioters arrested for acts of destruction; many were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to transportation, and three convicted of arson were ordered for execution.

Thomas James Silk, who had been captured in the House of Lords with a loaded pistol, the barrel of which he had thrust against the cheek of the officer who had effected his arrest, and had attempted

to discharge it (the weapon fortunately flashed in the pan), was, on examination, found to be an Irishman, and was suspected of an intention to assassinate the Duke of Wellington. His conversation was full of sanguinary intentions, the result apparently of the inflammatory language that had so freely been circulated among the lower classes in England and Ireland. Among other statements he attributed the deaths at Waterloo to the vices of the great, who, he said, ought to be killed, and acknowledged that he had intended to destroy some of them, that the world might be reformed. He was tried on the 14th, at the Old Bailey, for attempting to shoot, acquitted on the ground of insanity, and was subsequently sent to Bethlehem Hospital.¹

In Ireland the agitation for repeal was maintained with unabated spirit. Monster meetings were held, at which O'Connell presided, and the most insidious addresses were made to these assemblages by him, rarely without a suggestive reference to the recent revolutions abroad, or without the advice that

"They who'd be free, themselves must strike the blow!"

There was a large admixture of flattery respecting "the finest peasantry," and a constant quotation of Moore's lines about Ireland being


"The flow'r of the earth and the gem of the sea."

¹ "Annual Register."

The mischievous intention of these orations was understood by the Government; and a monster meeting having been announced to take place in Dublin, which was expected to bring together 150,000 excitable people, the Lord-Lieutenant issued a proclamation against it. The meeting, in consequence, was not held, and the Marquis of Anglesey was abused by the great agitator almost as much as the Duke of Wellington had been. In some parts of the country armed men assembled, as was stated, under the command of "Captain Rock" (a revived *sobriquet* of the Irish Rebellion), who broke into houses and plundered them of money and arms.

When we consider the simultaneousness of these agrarian disturbances in England and Ireland, their similarity of character, and the understanding that existed between the principal Irish and English demagogues, it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that they were acting in concert. Whilst this menacing coalition was proceeding, it will be seen by the debates that the leaders of the late and existing Governments drew closer together. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel on several important occasions expressed themselves favourably towards Ministers, and Lord Grey and Lord Althorp referred to the proceedings of their predecessors in similar courteous terms.

The agitation that had been going on respecting slavery was only in a degree less mischievous.



Petitions were allowed to be signed by multitudes totally incompetent to judge of the effects of the measure they were made to appear intensely anxious to advance. Every parish received a circular from the Anti-Slavery Society; and the Wesleyan Methodists got up a thousand petitions, signed by 270,000 people, which, as a writer in the *Times* stated, was in reality the production of fifty individuals. It was, however, only the zealots that distinguished themselves by encouraging such proceedings: the statesmen of both the great political parties spoke and acted in a very different spirit.


The insurrectionary movement on the Continent had not terminated. It broke out with increased fury in Poland, where the Grand Duke Constantine, by the violence of his proceedings, had excited a general spirit of disaffection to Russian authority. A banquet having been given at Warsaw in honour of Kosciusko, which was attended by some of the students of the Military College of that city, he ordered several of them to be flogged, and others to be sent to prison. So arbitrary a sentence could scarcely fail to excite their fellow students, and the whole body rose in arms to protect them. This occurred on the 29th of November, and as the Russian Guards marched to attack the students, the Polish regiments proceeded to declare in their favour. A contest ensued in which the people shortly joined, and having obtained arms from the arsenals, helped to drive the Russian troops out of

the city. The result was a revival of Polish nationality.

The Emperor of Russia, however, was not disposed to part with one of the finest provinces of his empire, and threatened the revoltors with the severest punishment. He made great preparations to get together an overwhelming armament, and the people of Poland, unprepared for so colossal a struggle, and without the slightest prospect of assistance from other countries, were left to wait the issue.

On the 28th of December, the Provisional Government of Belgium declared that their State should be constituted a kingdom divided into four territorial *arrondissements*, and that the Government should possess a Senate of Nobles and a Chamber of Deputies.

In the meantime the Government of France had been proceeding on a course which disappointed those who had most strongly insisted on the magnanimity of the French people; for they lent themselves to an unworthy animosity against individuals whose only crime was a faithful discharge of their duty. The feeling against the ex-Ministers was so strong, that it was feared a fresh revolution would be the consequence of any attempt at opposition, which might probably send the Citizen King once more to Switzerland or Twickenham. There was certainly a violent agitation in Paris, in which the students distinguished themselves so prominently that some were placed under arrest by the Minister



of War; much dissatisfaction was expressed, and to increase the popular discontent, Lafayette resigned his command of the National Guard, the Chamber of Deputies having voted it useless.

On the 21st of December, after a trial before the Chamber of Peers, sentence was pronounced against the four Ministers. They were found guilty of treason against the State, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with forfeiture of titles, rank, and orders. On the evening of the 29th, they were removed from Vincennes to the Castle of Ham, shortly afterwards to be the residence of a much more distinguished prisoner. Prince Polignac, however, was to be incarcerated in the Castle of Mont St. Michel, in Normandy.

The opening of a new year was regarded by all parties in the United Kingdom as a period of preparation for a coming campaign. The Government were said to be engaged in producing a rash measure of parliamentary reform, that was to satisfy the expectations of their most exacting supporters; the Radicals were not idle; there were signs and omens abroad which could not be misinterpreted, indicating that unless the Whigs satisfied their political demands, their official existence would neither be long nor comfortable. The other great party maintained an attitude of observation; its leaders diligent in the performance of their public duties, and accepting their position as one of temporary risk only.

The popularity of King William, if it had suffered no abatement since his change of Government, had certainly not perceptibly increased. The fact is, the lower classes were not quite so carefully instructed in loyalty by the political publications that were addressed exclusively to them, as they were in their alleged rights and claims. Reform in England and repeal in Ireland were held out as sure precursors of cheap bread and increased wages, as well as an indefinite amount of independence, and all who should venture to oppose either were represented as tyrants and plunderers.

At this period it was interesting to know that the King was in confidential communication with his late Minister, whose great services to the country his Majesty was not likely to forget. His Grace also continued to maintain his old friendly intimacy with the Duke of Buckingham, writing to him without reserve his opinions on the course of events, and describing the character of the political prospect. It will be seen that he regards with a statesman's eye the difficulties of the position, and takes an important retrospect in which he shows his consciousness of what occasioned his own overthrow. The advice he gives towards the conclusion of his letter is, as usual, full of truth and good sense.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Apthorpe, Jan. 1, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received your note at Winchester, but was not able to answer it. I must go there again on the 17th, in order to be present at a meeting of the Lieutenancy, and I must then place myself at the King's disposal, who has invited me to pass some days at Brighton in the end of the month. I am very much afraid, therefore, that I shall not have it in my power to wait upon you at Stowe.

I don't think that matters are much altered since I last communicated with you. I should think that the Government find it much more difficult to perform than it is to make promises, and that measures which appear very beneficial and very easy of attainment to men in Opposition, are not quite so easy to be carried into execution by an Administration.

I do not hear that they have positively decided upon anything, but their friends say that the measure of reform is to extinguish everything like the influence of family or property in every borough in the kingdom.

As for economy, I think that their estimate cannot exceed ours by a less sum than three hundred thousand pounds. As for peace, they have allowed France to arm. We may not be at war, but the rest of the world will, and possibly some kingdoms of Europe overthrown within a twelvemonth.

I confess that I have not observed anywhere any disposition actively to oppose this Government, excepting among a few who were in office under the last. We certainly dissatisfied our party by our Roman Catholic concessions, and that dissatisfaction ended by breaking us

down. I don't think that the dissatisfaction is removed. But whether it is the effect of the times, or the apprehension which men feel in consequence of the state of political opinion, or of the temper of the lower orders, I think that they are disposed to let things take their course—to allow this Administration to try what it can do, rather than risk the consequences of breaking it up to form another. There appears a sort of feverish anxiety in every man's mind about public affairs. No man can satisfy himself of the safety either of the country or of himself. But nobody wishes for, or has confidence in any change.

This being the case, I am convinced that it is the duty of those who wish to maintain things as they are in the country, to remain quiet, till they see real cause to take an active part. It is not only the wisest, but in reality the only practicable course.

It will not suit the activity of many. But I confess that, feeling as I do respecting the state of the public opinion, and particularly of that of our own party, I don't think that I could follow any other.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

The Marquis of Londonderry regarded the aspect of affairs from a different point of view, and betrays a soldier's impatience of inaction. In the opinion he expresses of the character of Sir Robert Peel he was not singular, though misled as to his alleged refusal to take office again under the Duke. Many a rising orator who had joined the ranks of that

able Minister has complained of want of encouragement from him. This communication is also curious for containing the first intimation of the possible organization of a Peel party, and the intended plan of proceedings of "the ultras."

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Belvoir Castle, Jan. 5, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I did not answer your last letter, as I had nothing of interest or importance to state, nor indeed have I at present sufficient to make a letter of mine worth receiving. But I should be sorry if, by any omission on my part, you could think me ungrateful for the kindness you showed towards me during the last year.

The D. of W. is here, with Arbuthnot, Shelley, and his usual associates. You will not suppose that we are very cordial, from the *finale* of his proceedings towards me; and indeed, from all I learn on every side, such is his loss of popularity and of the affection many bore him, to whom he demonstrated *none* at all, that I do not think it possible, in any change or under any circumstances, he can ever be Premier again. Besides, I hear from the very best authority, that Peel never would act under him as *chef* again. If this be so, the next consideration (if I turn from supporting Grey's views by his being overruled by the Radical particles of his Cabinet) appears to be, whether Peel is the man on whom I would place my political faith. In his character there is great coldness, apathy, and indifference to public life, and he rather assumes the post of Minister as a com-

pliment to the nation than views his possession of it as a proof of their confidence. I think these are bad qualities; and when I add to them the known fact that Peel *keeps down* all the young aspiring men, I do not think that he is a very alluring commander.

The ultras will, I hear, keep *en potence*, they being not strong enough to form alone a Government, either in talent or numbers. They will become powerful in the H. of C. by throwing their weight into Peel's ranks, or the Ministers', as they may deem best.

It appears to me that if there were means of bringing about a complete reconciliation between the ultras and Peel's party—a reconciliation founded on the necessity of a loyal and constitutional party adhering together—to which (by the bye) Grey might come, if forced by the Liberals—it would be the best *puissance conservatrice* for the next session.

Both the D. and Lord Grey are rather advancing; and I am really of opinion that, with your assistance, we might make a *rassemblement* that would claim some attention. These are my floating ideas which I have ventured to communicate; and pray let me hear from you confidentially here at your leisure.

Ever yours, my dear Duke, most truly,

VANE LONDONDERY.

The two last letters form a striking contrast. The first cold and cautious; apparently the writer has contracted a distaste for any active interference in politics, but tells his correspondent that it is most prudent for the present to let things take their course. The latter is frank and ardent: the

writer hurriedly scans the political prospect, sees something hopeful in a new combination, and is for making a demonstration with as little delay as possible.

We do not think there will be any dispute as to whose suggestions were the best. The Duke saw that anything resembling an attack on the Government would consolidate its loose materials, and that the only policy was to wait till there came a natural disintegration, which was pretty sure to follow, sooner or later. The Marquis thought delays dangerous, and seems to have been averse to standing still while his opponents gave an opening for attack. We are fearful, however, knowing how things subsequently fell out, that his plan would not have answered. A party cannot become formidable without a leader of commanding reputation, and there does not appear to have been any one whom he could have put forward in that responsible position.

The prospect of an alliance between the ultras and Peel's party, on which the speculations for a new combination were based, was shadowy and remote. Therefore the reader will not be surprised to learn that the Duke of Buckingham did not give any very serious attention to his correspondent's invitation.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1831.]

SIGNS OF THE TIMES—FURTHER PROPOSALS FOR THE FORMATION OF
A NEW PARTY—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S VIEWS ON THE
ASPECT OF AFFAIRS—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—DISSATIS-
FACTION CREATED BY THE NEW ARRANGEMENT OF THE CIVIL LIST
—ORATOR HUNT IN PARLIAMENT—O'GORMAN MAHON—A PROPOSED
TAX ON PROPERTY ABANDONED—COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE
MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY—MEETING OF LANDED PROPRIETORS
AT BUCKINGHAM HOUSE.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE signs of the times continued to be ominously significant. On the 9th of January sentence of death was pronounced against twenty-three persons for assisting to destroy a paper-machine in Dorsetshire. On the 11th, the same sentence was pronounced against three more for extortion, and against two for robbery ; four received seven years' transportation for destroying machinery ; two were sentenced to one year's, and two to three months' hard labour. At Norwich there were forty-five convictions ; three at Ipswich ; twenty-six at Petworth ; and several at Oxford. At Gloucester seven criminals were transported for fourteen years, and twenty for seven years ; one had three years' imprisonment ; two, two years' ; twelve were sentenced to a less term, and six were left for execution at Winchester ; two were hanged on the 15th, as well as two at Salisbury on the 25th. Upwards of eight hundred offenders were brought to trial.

Meetings in favour of parliamentary reform were held in several counties in England, but voting by ballot was not generally encouraged. Carlile, the

notorious publisher of seditious and irreligious books, was on the 10th sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to a fine of 200*l.*, for a libel tending to excite the agricultural labourers to riot and to the destruction of property. In Ireland similar measures were pursued to put down unlawful meetings. Several proclamations to this effect were issued by the Lord-Lieutenant; and on the 18th Mr. Daniel O'Connell was arrested for having attended a prohibited meeting, and was held to bail, himself in 1000*l.* with two sureties of 500*l.*, to appear at the Court of King's Bench on the first day of term.

Lord Londonderry still appears to have been desirous of establishing a separate party, on which subject he thus expresses his views.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Tharington, Jan. 25, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have heard lately that the Cabinet are agreed on a sweeping plan of reform; and a law against freedom from arrest and abolition of franking is to be carried. I confess all this alarms me, especially as I see little vigour of resistance abroad. From all I could learn at Belvoir of the Duke of W.'s course, it will be very *piano*; and Peel will evidently play the game of conciliation to the moderates of the Cabinet if they are likely to weather their gale. I can see nothing so advantageous for the country as the formation of a combined ultra and mode-

rate Tory party, where loyal and constitutional interests should be upheld, and without following either the mandate of the Duke or Peel. I could not help thinking good active working men would grow out of such a reunion, if young men of family in the H. of C. could be brought together.

There has been no attempt of late years of this nature. It has often been called factious, and neither the ultras nor the malcontents of the Duke of W.'s Government ever congregated to uphold an *esprit du corps*.

At this period, with the exception of Peel, there does not appear to be in the Lower House those commanding talents that should arrest young men's parts of speech. I may be wrong, but I cannot see why Lord —— and others in the H. of C., and your Grace and myself, might not bring a very tolerable phalanx together, if it should be so thought desirable; a phalanx that might, in the event of Lord Grey being overruled by the Liberals, and wanting a reinforcement upon a dismissal, come into communication with his lordship; or otherwise, if the new projects are persevered in by him, be of great importance as an opposing force. I state this proposition on two grounds (in which, however, I may be wrong); the one, that the Duke will be no rallying point, nor will he attempt to bring or keep people together; the other, that Peel would rather be called on by such a party to be their head or Minister, than work for it himself.

If my premises are mistaken, and if these *chefs* lay themselves out, well and good. But are we bound, if they do not, "to roll ourselves in our robes," as you say, and not to engage in what may be called *factious opposition*.

If my outline should be approved, I think your Grace

might talk to Beresford, and I to Eldon and Falmouth, and men of the description both of ultra and moderate Toryism, and I do think some foundation might speedily be laid.

I shall be in town the 1st or 2nd February.

Pray give me a line in answer to this to Middleton, Bicester.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERBY.

The contingencies which the writer of the preceding communication required for the successful action of a new party, were not so probable as to induce his correspondent to respond to his suggestions. Earl Grey's disposition to go unresistingly with "the pressure from without" might be doubted, but his surrender of office to ally himself with the re-actionary party was far less probable. He may already have become dissatisfied with his position, and have begun to regard his more advanced colleagues with suspicion: but in the first place, too many interests would be affected by his resignation, to render the immediate contemplation of it at all likely; and in the next, he valued his character for consistency too highly, and was too fond of popular applause, to enter upon a course that threatened the sacrifice of both.

Nor do we think that Sir Robert Peel would have taken the lead in any party that did not include the Duke of Wellington. As for directing a

counteracting movement, for the purpose of recovering ground already lost, there are reasons for believing that he would not have entertained the idea ; at least in the shape in which it must have been put before him. He appears to have been quite willing to do his best in opposition to the most alarming features in the proposed alterations of the constitution, but with an intention to temporize and conciliate, till he should find himself in a position to appeal for popular support with a change of his own, almost as extensive, but a little more safe.

It seems evident from the following communication, that the Duke of Buckingham had been attempting a reconciliation between the Duke of Wellington and the party of which Lord Londonderry may be regarded as the representative. It is clear, however, that with his characteristic shrewdness the Duke had anticipated their intentions, and declined the proffered alliance, nor would he be driven from the course he had determined to pursue. He would not sanction any compromise of principle. Not less clear is it that the King felt some distrust at the present aspect of affairs.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, Jan. 26, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I did not answer your letter of the 4th. There is in

truth not much difference of opinion between us on the facts ; there is a great deal on the course of conduct to be pursued, or rather on the time of adopting that course.

I am quite certain that the plans of the Government cannot be adopted without leading to the most disastrous results ; and I hope, and I think I see reason to believe, that the good sense of the country is beginning to have its effect, and that we shall be enabled to get the better of these schemes.

But we must recollect how we stood in November. A majority in Parliament voted against the Government upon a question of the Civil List ; the country was in a state of insanity about reform in Parliament ; the Administration were under the necessity of resigning at an hour's notice, in order to prevent reform from being carried by storm ; and the King was under the necessity of taking into his service Lord Grey and the Whigs.

Could we at that time commence an opposition ? What is the legitimate object of an opposition ? To deprive of power those men of whose measures, principles, and conduct we disapprove, in order that the Sovereign may be disposed to entrust with power those in whom we have confidence. I suppose that we have confidence in ourselves. But supposing that we had the offer of power to-morrow, could we accept it ?

I must answer that question in the negative. We are not at this moment on better terms with our former friends than we were. I firmly believe that the majority of them prefer the Whigs to us. The reason is this, their objection to us is without reason, and personal. They must see that we were right and they wrong upon

the B. C. question ; but they are angry with us for that very reason.

Then, I must add that there are difficulties in the way of the details of an accommodation with that party, which appear to me to render it impossible under existing circumstances. This being the case, I contend that nothing would be so unwise as for the King's late servants to enter upon an opposition, which must have the effect of uniting against them, in and with the existing Government, the persons composing the five parties by whose votes they were deprived of power in November.

Every day may produce an alteration. I certainly will not consent to any compromise of principle ; I will oppose every measure which I may think revolutionary ; but I cannot think that it would be right to commence a regular factious opposition at the present moment.

I found the King in tolerable health, but apparently very anxious about public affairs ; he was relieved, however, from his anxiety about Hanover. I think that pains are taken to convince him that all is going on right, but his anxiety shows that he suspects the truth.

He was remarkably kind to me.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c.

Reports were now current that the new Government were unpopular at Court. This appears in some degree to have been the case. There were other causes that were considered to be exerting a

prejudicial influence against them. They were unquestionably in a critical position, between an increasing body of extreme Liberals whom they wished to disavow, and a still more influential party they desired to conciliate.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Middleton, Jan. 30, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Many thanks for your letter. It is possible I may be wrong in the conjectures I hazarded to you in my last communication, but still the channel from whence I derived the information was good. It was written by Irvine, the great capitalist, and by Lord Graham, in two separate letters to the D. of Rutland, and Littleton wrote to me the intelligence as to franking and the privilege of person. You have now my authority; *au reste*, some short time will now develop, and I shall be very glad to have personal communication with you on all these interesting points so soon as you arrive in town. I shall be there in a day or two, when possibly I may be able to observe things more closely.

With respect to the politics here, it is nothing but the Duke, the whole Duke, and nothing but the Duke.

Madame will hear of nothing but a complete turn out, and so unwise and impolitic are all the appointments of Lord Grey conceived, as well as his own conduct, as far as it can be judged of, that any coalition with him, if he should (upon being pressed too hard by the Liberals) desire it, is perfectly scouted.

It is rather asserted that the idol *will* show fight on

the first occasion. But my belief is, this is more wished than actually known.

I pity Anglesey ; it must be sadly mortifying to be saved by the *Algerine Act* ! of his opponents. His vanity has upset him with many of the Irish. He declared the first moment he set his foot in Ireland the country would be at his command ! And how can he now blame those spirits unto whom he preached only *agitation, agitation*.

What a loss as a speaker to a party of the Duke's in the House of Lords, Lyndhurst will be ! This is an additional proof to me the Duke of W. never means to be *Premier* again. Lord Ellenborough also will be tongue-tied in dread of the County Court Bill. I fear you will be very badly supported in attack.

But more of all this when we meet.

Believe me always, my dear Duke,

Yours very sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Parliament resumed its sitting on the 3rd of February. Lord Londonderry in the House of Lords presented a petition for a repeal of the tax on sea-borne coals ; Lord Grey another, praying for parliamentary reform ; and the Earl of Darnley a third, on the same subject. In the House of Commons similar petitions were presented by Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, Sir John Wrottesley, and Mr. Hume. Mr. Hunt, the Radical leader, had been elected for Preston, and brought forward petitions against tithes, for reform, for the aboli-

tion of the corn laws, for universal suffrage, and vote by ballot. Lord Althorp stated that the Government measure on parliamentary reform would be ready for consideration on the 1st of March, under the auspices of Lord John Russell; and announced some other measures. Mr. Hunt threatened to bring before Parliament the conduct of the Commissioners who had been sent by Government into the disturbed districts. The manner in which they had done their duty had given deadly offence to the Radicals, and their orators were obliged to express a large amount of indignation.

In the House of Lords on the following day the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Radnor, and the Earl of Rosslyn, presented petitions in favour of the one absorbing measure. Indeed, little else was done in either House. Mr. C. W. Wynn, however, brought his Bill for the Repeal of the Oaths of Abjuration a stage further. Lord Althorp then laid upon the table papers relating to the estimate for the future amount of charge upon the Civil List, with a long speech describing the reductions the Government proposed; in the course of which he stated that on the marriage of George III. the sum of 54,000*l.* had been granted to Queen Charlotte for jewels, besides an outfit; that the Princess Charlotte had a large grant allowed her on her marriage for her outfit; and that a like grant had been in contem-

plation for Queen Adelaide, but had been declined by the King.

Mr. Goulburn showed that very trifling diminution had been made in the estimates, as acknowledged by the last speaker, and stated that no candid man in the country could now refuse to render justice to the late Government on such satisfactory testimony that their estimates were neither exaggerated nor improper. He then proceeded to point out that by the new arrangements the Government contemplated paying, in two sums and out of two funds, what had hitherto been paid in one sum out of one fund.

Mr. Hume expressed himself dissatisfied, and threatened opposition in Committee, declaiming in his usual style against pensions. Mr. Hunt also expressed himself disappointed, and also denounced pensions at great length. Many other members expressed dissatisfaction; indeed, it was clear to the meanest capacity that the new Civil List was a delusion. Mr. Hume subsequently moved for returns of the pensions enjoyed by the junior branches of the royal family, by the household of George III. and George IV., and by State officials, and all his motions were agreed to.

Tithes and reform took up the attention of the House of Lords on the 7th, when the Civil List was again discussed in the House of Commons, as well as barilla duties, and the state of Ireland. On the following day the Lords had another debate

on tithes, the Commons being principally employed in listening to Mr. Hunt's threatened oration against the Government Commissioners. It proved rather an amusing narrative of the orator's personal adventures in the disturbed districts, with biographical sketches of some of the persons who had been engaged in the riots, whom he represented as more sinned against than sinning. He also furnished anecdotes of some of their employers, which represented them as extremely bloodthirsty and vindictive. He concluded with a motion recommending an amnesty, and Mr. Hume seconded it without a speech. Several members addressed themselves to the subject in succession, giving the House a totally different view of it; and when it came to a division, the mover and seconder were the only members who voted for the motion.

A similar illustration of popular opinion was given in an attack by O'Gorman Mahon on the proclamations of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, during which he was repeatedly called to order by the Speaker, only to fall into greater disorder after every such interposition. He was threatened with the usual penalties, when he calmed down a little, but only to burst forth into a long harangue, made up of exaggerations, that kept the House in a constant roar of laughter. The gist of it was, that Mr. O'Connell had been threatened with imprisonment, and that such a proceeding was likely to be attended by the most terrible consequences.

Lord Althorp and Sir Robert Peel treated these denunciations as they deserved; the latter, in the course of a spirited speech, expressing his intention to support the Government, which avowal was much commended by Lord Palmerston and other members of the House. Mr. Hume and Mr. Hunt supported O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. O'Connell, but Sir Francis Burdett expressed some severe strictures on both. On the 9th the House was entertained with a discussion on O'Connell, of a much milder character.

The following day, in the Lords, the Duke of Buckingham presented a petition from the merchants of Dublin, praying that the question of the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies might be treated by that House with caution and deliberation. The Duke agreed to the prayer of the petition, and said that neither himself nor the petitioners advocated slavery. He thought, with them, that too much care could not be taken in giving to men in the state of the slave population of the West Indies, rights which then they were totally incapable of using properly.

Lord Radnor, on presenting two petitions from Ireland for repeal of the Union, said it was perfectly unaccountable to him how any persons could expect good from such a measure. The Marquis of Londonderry expressed his gratification at hearing such sentiments, which, he stated, were shared by all persons of intelligence in Ireland. These

petitions having been examined, all the signatures were discovered to be in the same handwriting, except the first two. Then Lord King commenced a debate on tithes while presenting a petition, as his lordship avowed, on that subject; but on one of the Peers requiring that it should be read, it proved to be for a repeal of the assessed taxes.

Some attacks having been made on the conduct of the clergy, the Duke of Buckingham dwelt on the impropriety of carrying on such incidental discussions. With respect to religion, he said he left that to be settled between every man and his conscience. His own object was the amelioration of the Church of England, the clergy of which had as much right to their property as the noble lord who had commenced the debate had to his estate; and if such property were taken away, he acknowledged that he knew not by what mode he could maintain possession of his own.

On the same day the House of Commons discussed, among other subjects, the regulations of Fisherton Gaol and the Recordership of Dublin. On the day following there were speeches on reform in the House of Lords from Lord Farnham and Earl Grey—the former asking for information on the Government measure, the latter declining to give it. In the other House, tithes and the state of Ireland (with O’Gorman Mahon as usual called to order by the Speaker) preceded a long debate on

the Budget, which Lord Althorp commenced. Many grave objections were urged against his propositions, particularly to a tax on the transfer of funded property, by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulburn. That Mr. Hunt should be dissatisfied with the small amount of taxation reduced was a matter of course. There was, however, no serious opposition.

On the 14th, after the usual petitions, the Duke of Buckingham, alluding to the proposed tax, gave notice that he should direct the attention of the House to it when the Bill came before them, as he considered it a breach of faith with the public creditor, and was sorry also to feel obliged to consider it of a most mischievous character. Lord Grey stated that there would be no such tax and no such Bill, the Government having abandoned the idea of raising money in that way. The Marquis of Londonderry thought Lord Grey incapable of imposing a revolutionary tax, and seemed to be in favour of such an attempt to make the fund-holder contribute to the public burdens.

The Duke of Buckingham congratulated the House on the abandonment by the Government of this objectionable feature in their plan of finance. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Ellenborough, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Farnham spoke on the same subject. A debate followed Lord King's moving for a return of the resident and non-resident clergy.

In the House of Commons the question was asked whether a vessel with false papers, having on board several stands of arms, had been seized in the Shannon, and if a compromise had been entered into by the Government with Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Stanley replied that such a vessel had been seized, and was now in the possession of the Preventive Service, and that no compromise with Mr. O'Connell had been permitted.

The report on the Budget was then brought up, with a revised plan by Lord Althorp. It was much discussed during a very long debate, and Mr. Hunt being interrupted in one of his rambling orations by the usual cries of "Question," moved an adjournment; but there was no division.

In the discussion in the House of Peers on the proposal of the Government to raise a tax on the transfer of funded property, the Marquis of Londonderry had expressed sentiments quite opposed to those immediately before spoken by the Duke of Buckingham. The Duke did not invite him to a consultation of landed proprietors held at his town-house about this time. Hence the following letters:—

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

Holderness House, February 12, at night.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I hear you have been canvassing for the meeting of

the landed interests, &c., at your house to-morrow ; and a Tory *county member* informed me he had been asked, but would not attend. As you have not acquainted me of this intention after our confidential communications, from which I rather inferred you would not take a measure of this sort without telling me, I conclude that you have changed your sentiments as to our attempting together any common purpose. I regret this the more, as the object for the country should be an endeavour at union of independent men, rather than further separation. Of course, as I have heard only from report of this intended meeting, you will not think I have departed from anything that has passed between us in private.

I should not act so openly and fairly as I have done with you hitherto, if I did not candidly state what has this evening come to my knowledge.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Yours ever most truly,

VANR LONDONDERRY.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Holderness House, February 13, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE;

I was anxious to see some friends, and hence the delay in answering your note. The more I see, the more I consider it expedient that those who are not in the present Government should not at this early period be split up in various factions, which partial meetings would denote. *Your* former chiefs evidently throw a damp sheet on any effort at opposition. If they don't encourage it, those who were independent of them, as

well as of the present men, ought not voluntarily in these early days to plunge into it; and I really understood that such was your opinion, at least until you had seen the D. of W.; and hence my surprise at hearing from one of my friends, a north county member, that he had been canvassed and would not go. I know there is a great cry in the City against the per centage on funded and landed transfers; but, as yet, we cannot pronounce what the sentiments of the country at large will be.

I have had an immense boon on coals, which I have laboured for for three years, and with the Duke and Goulburn never got on a peg. To this I cannot be insensible, and I am sure your candid mind will admit, it is reasonable ground for me to pause and to remain in an entirely neutral position until a further development of all the measures of the Government takes place.

Besides, if we meet, under whose lead, or by what leaders in the Commons, are we to resist the measures you deem revolutionary? Can you name any individuals of calibre or influence unto whom myself and friends are to give our political adhesion, in case this Government is broken up? I see Beresford, Westmoreland, D. of Cumberland, and even Beaufort and Rutland, all keep aloof. Under such view, time may produce a crisis, but I question if the present moment is ripe for any decision whatsoever.

Ever yours, very sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Holderness House, February 14, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I beg you will be persuaded that I never questioned the expediency of your adopting any line you thought proper and conducive to the public interest. But as we had long discussed co-operation, and as I left you on Friday with an understanding that you had abandoned any attempt at a meeting until you had seen the D. of W., as also your idea of any notice in the H. of Lords, I was certainly surprised to hear from Bell of Northumberland, of an invitation to go to Buckingham House, and hence arose my correspondence, as I thought you would (after all that had passed between us) have made me a direct and immediate communication, if you had changed your purpose.

I will look in upon you and take my chance of seeing you this morning.

Au reste, the times are very difficult, my position different from yours ; and it is very probable, that whatever my humble efforts at co-operation might be, in case of success, the same treatment as heretofore would be extended towards me.

Ever yours, most truly,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

All that can be gathered from the preceding letters is that the writer had found himself favoured by the Government by their passing a measure which he knew would be a special benefit to all classes of the community. He therefore does not

advocate the organization of a new party for active opposition—indeed, now inquires who is to be its leader; and in the end expresses uncertainty as to what would be the feeling towards him of the Duke of Wellington in case his efforts at co-operation should be successful. Nothing could be more natural than such expressions of hesitation to show hostility to Ministers immediately after they had conferred, unasked, a boon for which he had urged his political friends in vain.

It is evident, also, that the Duke of Buckingham had been in personal communication with the Duke of Wellington, and that they were in accord in the policy that had called the meeting of landed proprietors. It is also obvious that they agreed as to the uselessness of any organized opposition to the Government, though they might maintain a jealous watch over their measures.

CHAPTER IX.

[1831.]

SUPPOSED UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN MR. O'CONNELL AND THE
GOVERNMENT—HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES, AFTER PLEADING GUILTY,
ESCAPE PUNISHMENT—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—SIR ROBERT
PEEL SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT—THE MINISTERIAL PLAN OF
PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE REFORM BILLS OF 1831 AND 1860
—MR. MACAULAY ON REFORM—SPEECH OF SIR ROBERT PEEL—
STATE OF THE CONTINENT—THE SIX DAYS' DEBATE—THE DUKE
OF WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF THE REFORM BILL.



CHAPTER IX.

THE trial of Mr. Daniel O'Connell and his associates had taken place. They had pleaded guilty to fourteen counts of an indictment that charged them with holding political meetings contrary to the proclamations of the Lord-Lieutenant. They suffered judgment to go by default. This would enable the Crown to bring them up for sentence next term; but the proceeding seems to have been perfectly understood by both parties, for before the expiration of the intervening time the Act under which the conviction was made expired, and they were permitted to evade their sentence.

A meeting had been held of the bankers, merchants, and traders of Dublin, to present an address to the Marquis of Anglesey, expressive of confidence and promising support; notwithstanding which, however, it was notorious that the population of Ireland generally was very far from feeling a cordial appreciation of his administration, while O'Connell was levying contributions throughout the island for

his own advantage, and spreading disaffection to the Imperial Government far and wide among the uneducated peasantry. How they understood the nature of the measure they were made to appear enthusiastically determined to carry, may be gathered from a demand one indignant Milesian was heard to make—"Why don't they give us the Repale they took from us?"

On the 15th, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Shrewsbury, while presenting some petitions for repeal of the Union, ventured to state that the late Government was an Administration avowedly hostile to Ireland. This elicited an indignant denial from the Duke of Wellington. On the same day, in the Commons, there was a conversation respecting two different Game Bills then before the House. A long discussion followed on trade and manufactures. Subsequently Lord Althorp laid before the House papers relating to expenses for Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, which produced from Messrs. Hume and Hunt the usual declarations against extravagance. Lord Althorp then brought forward his motion on the Game Laws, and although many objections were made to it, it was read a first time.

On the following day the House was employed discussing reform, tithes, employment of the poor, and the proceedings of the Irish Government. On the last subject Mr. Stanley repeated his declaration that there had been no compromise with Mr.

O'Connell. The House then considered several questions of taxation. In the House of Lords, on the 17th, Lord Ellenborough moved for returns respecting the new taxes: a discussion followed on the timber trade. The same day, in the Commons, there arose a conversation, in which it was stated that the corrupt state of the borough of Evesham demanded the serious attention of Parliament. Various members spoke on the subject, and the motion was supported by Sir Robert Peel. Afterwards several questions of temporary interest were discussed.

On the 18th the Duke of Wellington directed the attention of Government to abuses in the coal-trade of the City of London. Earl Grey stated that the subject was under the consideration of his colleagues, and that the duty levied for the purpose of building the new London Bridge was only of a temporary nature. The Marquis of Londonderry expressed gratitude to the Government for relieving the people from a tax on such a necessary article as coals, and hoped the Duke of Wellington would support the Bill on the subject about to be brought before Parliament. He said that the Duke of Wellington had appeared to him to evince a decided disinclination in committee to relieve the coal trade of the duty of six shillings per chaldron, and complimented Ministers on their evident intention to benefit the labouring and industrious classes.

Some observations followed respecting Greece, Scotland, reform petitions, and the Ministerial plans.

In the House of Commons on the same day, a Bill respecting the borough of Evesham was read a first time. It was moved that a copy of it should be served on the returning officer and on the High Bailiff of Birmingham; the motion included a list of the voters, and that the Speaker do issue his warrant to bring the late members and other persons before the House to give evidence on the Bill. Though Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Hunt appeared disinclined to the measure, and other members were desirous of its postponement, leave was given for the examination of witnesses on the 7th of March.

This was succeeded by debates on distress in Ireland, on Canada, and on Belgium. The last was prefaced by Mr. Hume with a long speech on the necessity of retrenchment, particularly urging the cutting down the military establishments of the country. He then gave a relation of the recent proceedings in Belgium, and ended by moving for copies of all the protocols of the Congress of the Five Powers held in London, respecting the affairs of that country since last October.

Lord Palmerston replied, stating the course the Government had pursued. Lord Althorp also defended the policy of Ministers. Sir Robert Peel opposed the motion, and with respect to the large

armaments known to be preparing in France, stated his conviction that if unjust ambition should tempt that country to enlarge the limits of her empire—if she should be urged on by the recollections of the victories of Napoleon, and a military faction should prevail over the good sense of the nation—that Europe, united in a just cause, would resist her successfully, and teach her it was not her interest to provoke war. In continuation he referred to the policy of the present Government as exhibiting no material difference from that of the last; saying very happily, “the present Ministers had killed their opponents, and had immediately entered into possession of all their doctrines.” In conclusion he said—

“He would repeat his declaration, that he should feel ashamed of himself if he permitted any personal feelings—any jealousy—or any political hostility to interfere with the cordial support which he felt it necessary, on all proper occasions, to give to his Majesty’s Government. It was the more agreeable to him to be enabled to do so, because, from the course the present Ministers were pursuing, though they had dispossessed him of place on the ground of not following out retrenchments, on that point, and as respected our foreign policy, there was no difference between him and them, and he had nothing to complain of in their conduct. He hoped on that more serious subject, parliamentary

reform, when they came to take it up, that they would have the like regard to the interest and honour of the country, and act on the same faith and honourable principles; and that they would not propose, induced by the taunts of Mr. Hume and his political associates, any measure for the consideration of the House pregnant with immediate or contingent prejudice to the institutions of this great country, or dangerous to the public welfare, over which it was their bounden duty to watch."¹

On the 21st, there was a debate in the House of Lords on a report made by the Archbishop of Dublin to the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland, to obtain their sanction to the Union of Wicklow; which was followed by another on the commercial relations of this country with Portugal. On the same day, in the Commons, after other business, the attention of the House was directed to the distress existing in the West Indies, and it was stated that something ought to be done for the relief of those who were suffering.

Lord Althorp admitted that the state of those colonies demanded serious attention, but objected to the proposal. Sir Robert Peel averred that the moral and physical condition of the slaves would be most effectually improved by promoting the

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, ii. 711.

welfare of the planters ; and that the true way to raise the condition of the former was to restore prosperity to the colonies in which they were employed.

The army estimates then came under consideration, and the debate was enlivened by the personalities Mr. O'Connell invariably indulged in, when any reference was made to his proceedings. Mr. Hume called loudly for reduction ; and Mr. Hunt made a rambling discourse in favour of vote by ballot, and ended by moving a reduction of 10,000 men from the estimate required, on which he divided the House. The announcement of his being in a minority of six rewarded his exertions.

In the House of Lords, on the 22nd, the Marquis of Londonderry objected to the name of the Sovereign having been put forward as favouring the Government scheme of reform, when the Lord Chancellor averred that the proposed measure had received his Majesty's sanction. Lord Londonderry then expressed a hope that it would do as much good and as little evil as possible. Subsequently the Lord Chancellor occupied the attention of the House with his plan for a reform of the Court of Chancery ; and brought in three Bills, one of which was read a first time.

In the other House, there was a debate on emigration, and another on tithes in Ireland, on a

motion of Mr. Ruthven, which, being brought to a division, left him in a minority of *one*.

On the 23rd, the House of Commons had a debate on the Lord Chancellor and Commissioners in Lunacy. On the 25th, the Lords considered the proposed Chancery reforms, when the second Bill was read a first time. On the same day, in the Commons, there was a debate on the navy estimates, in which Mr. Hume figured prominently on the subject of retrenchment. Mr. Hunt supported him, but there was no division. On the following day, Lord Althorp presented a hundred petitions for parliamentary reform, some praying for vote by ballot; and many more were presented by other members.

On the 28th, in the House of Lords, there were slight discussions on the new police, distress in Ireland, reform, tithes, and distress in the agricultural districts of England. The same day there was a debate in the Commons referring to the Irish Government and Mr. O'Connell, which the latter not only commenced, but in another speech continued a further justification of his proceedings. Lord Althorp, however, thought that no man who had read his speeches could doubt that they were calculated to excite sedition.

Much of the time of the House was subsequently taken up by proceedings against a person who had been taken into custody for having interrupted from

the gallery some assertions of Mr. O'Connell with a rude denial. He somewhat reluctantly made an apology ; but neither Lord Althorp nor Sir Robert Peel considered it sufficient, though Mr. O'Connell appeared satisfied ; and Alexander Jacob was sent to Newgate on the Speaker's warrant.

The 1st of March had been long looked forward to, by all classes of politicians, as bringing with it the great event of the session. It was the day appointed for the explanation of the Ministerial plan of parliamentary reform. For the last two or three weeks the excitement prevailing in the public mind was declared by a multitude of petitions, signed by such masses of petitioners as had never before been persuaded to put their names to any document. Monster meetings had been held in various parts of the country, and demonstrations of every kind resorted to to show the extent to which the nation felt interested in this measure. The lower classes appear to have been most urgently appealed to, and they most prominently responded ; while the more educated portion of the community seemed either much less excited on the subject, or less ready to appreciate the incalculable advantages the measure was to bring upon the nation.

There was no question, however, but that reform came on with the stride of a giant, apparently capable of bearing down every obstacle to its progress. Never had a popular movement appeared so

popular. Never had a Government measure so large and active a body of supporters. The new police were forgotten, and the punishments inflicted on the agricultural rioters ignored. The people would see nothing but reform, and the dazzling nature of this grand effort at legislation threw such a halo upon those who were entrusted with its production as apparently to blind the spectators to all other political objects. It not only illumined the characters of the Ministers, but gave them that shadowy exaggeration that sometimes affects very ordinary objects in mountainous districts.

It is scarcely possible to imagine the extent of this delusion without comparing the advent of the Reform Bill of March, 1831, with that of March, 1860. The distance that is said "to lend enchantment to the view" was now wanting—the object had been regarded closely for a considerable period, and its picturesque attractions had totally vanished.

The reform of 1831 was announced as a political panacea. It professed to remedy all the diseases that were said to afflict our constitution. It was to put the entire system into a state of such robust health, that no other medicine need be thought of. Yet we have lived to witness a striking proof of the fallacy of these professions; for in less than thirty years, the "final measure," as it was styled, was sought to be superseded by an entirely new reform.

Lord John Russell addressed the Speaker at great length preliminary to his moving for leave to bring in a Bill for amending the state of the representation of England and Wales, explaining the intentions of the Government, and describing the features of their measure. He said that Ministers desired to place themselves between two hostile parties; neither agreeing with "the bigotry" of one, that no reform is necessary, nor with the fanaticism of the other, that only some particular kind of reform could by any means be satisfactory to the people; and that they took their stand on firm ground between abuses they wished to amend, and convulsions they hoped to avert.

He then went slightly into the historical features of the question, and subsequently looked at it as one of reason. This was to refer to exceptional cases as a true picture of the usual method of election. Having dwelt on these, he proceeded to state that his Bill was intended to restrict forty-seven boroughs to send one member to Parliament that had hitherto sent two; to deprive another place that returned four, of half its members, and to disfranchise sixty entirely; thus making one hundred and sixty-eight vacancies.

The Bill was to extend the franchise in counties to copyholders of ten pounds a-year, and in towns to householders paying the same rent. Seven large towns not represented were to send two members each; and twenty others one member each; the

Metropolis was to return eight, and two additional members were to be given to twenty-seven counties, with one to the Isle of Wight. Arrangements were to be made for expediting elections. The boroughs to be partly and entirely disfranchised were then named. Five additional members were to be given to Scotland, three to Ireland, and one to Wales; and the measure was to increase the number of voters to half a million.

The speaker then proceeded to state that there was no intention to shorten the duration of Parliament, nor to recommend vote by ballot. Subsequently he entered upon the subject of the influence of landed property in elections, when he acknowledged that, "wherever the aristocracy reside, receiving large incomes, performing important duties, relieving the poor by charity, and evincing private worth and public virtue, it is not in human nature that they should not possess a great influence on public opinion, and have an equal weight in electing persons to serve their country in Parliament."¹

Nevertheless, he proceeded to find fault with such members of this particular body as were known to be the opponents of the Government. He said that it had become a question whether the constitution would not perish if reform were deferred, and appealed to the aristocracy and to the gentry to

¹ "Hansard," New Series, ii. 1086.

assist him in preventing this dissolution. He referred to the vigorous exertions of his colleagues to put down disturbances, and professed to see total disinterestedness in their assisting to produce the measure before the House.


Sir Robert Harry Inglis made an able reply, in which he minutely exposed all the fallacies of Lord John Russell by producing historical data and political facts. He defended the system of representation that permitted young men of talent to enter Parliament without the necessity of mob patronage, or the profession of mob oratory. He proved that by this channel had entered Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Canning, Wyndham, Brougham, and Romilly. He then analysed the clamour that had been got up about corruption and popular rights; showed the mischievous tendency of the proposed arrangements, and ended by opposing the measure; as the principle upon which the reform was to be made was unrecognised in any era in the history of the House of Commons.

He opposed it, because it diminished those influences within it that had always existed, and which then were essential to the balance of the constitution. He opposed it, because against this assemblage no charge had been proved or even made; because the influence of the Crown and that of the aristocracy, and that of money, places, and party, were never less than at present. Nor did he believe that the people of England were pre-

pared for the threatened change, or were really dissatisfied with their institutions.

Sir C. E. Smith and Lord Althorp defended the measure, and Mr. Horace Twiss and Lord Francis Leveson Gower opposed it. Their speeches completed the first day's debate.

The second took place on the following day. Messrs. O'Connell, Hume, and Hunt strongly commended the Ministerial plan of reform. The most effective speech was made on behalf of the Government, by Mr., subsequently Lord, Macaulay, who congratulated reformers on their unanimity. The conclusion may be regarded as a fair specimen of his style of oratory. "Turn where we may," he said, "within—around—the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, Reform! that ye may preserve! Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears—now, while the roof of a British palace affords an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings—now, while we see on every side ancient institutions subverted, and great societies dissolved—now, while the heart of England is still sound—now, while the old feelings and the old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away—now, in this your accepted time—now, in this year of your salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party



spirit, not of the ignominious pride of fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this portentous time."

He added: "Renew the youth of the State. Save property divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by their own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilized community that ever existed from calamities that may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible," he said, "the time short. If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing regret, amidst the wreck of lands, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order."¹

Such was the kind of appeal employed by one of the greatest orators of his age to forward this measure. Lord Mahon replied, with statesman-like skill. Several other able speeches were made on each side of the House, without, however, eliciting anything worthy of remark or quotation.

The same day, in the House of Lords, after some

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, ii. 1204.

remarks had been uttered by the Duke of Wellington respecting charges that had been made against members of the late Administration, the Secretary for the Colonies was asked whether he intended bringing forward any accusation against his predecessor. Lord King explained that he had not accused the late Secretary of malversation, though abuses had existed during his administration. The Duke of Buckingham said that the noble baron had certainly brought a charge against the Admiralty, which, in the absence of the late First Lord, had better have been deferred. Lord King made another attempt at explanation, which induced the Duke of Wellington to remark, that the charge ought not to have been made. Finally, Lord Goderich having stated that he did not intend to bring forward any charge respecting malversation in the colonial department of the late Administration, no further observation on the subject was made.

The following day, in the House of Commons, a lively discussion followed a motion made by Lord John Russell for population returns of cities and boroughs. Then the adjourned debate was continued. Several speeches were made; on the Government side they were generally characterized by appeals to popular feelings, and by allusions to the difficulty experienced by existing Sovereigns to maintain their own dominions. The most eloquent display was the speech of Sir Robert

Peel. He began by calling attention to the unfair contrast that had been made of the present Government and the last. He alluded to the difficulties under which the late Administration laboured, and showed that had Mr. Canning survived, he would have opposed the sweeping change the House was now considering. He then gave a masterly exposition of the proposed Bill and of its effects, in the course of which he said :—

“The constitution of this country is not written down like that of some of our neighbours. I know not where to look for it, except in the division into King, Lords, and Commons, and in the composition of this House, which has long been the supreme body of the State. The composition of this House by representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, I take to be an intimate part of our constitution. The House was so formed when they passed the Habeas Corpus Act—a law which, together with other wise laws, Mr. Cobbett himself desires to preserve, although, with strange inconsistency, whilst he cherishes the fruit, he would cut down the tree. The House was constituted on the same principle of counties, cities, and boroughs, when Montesquieu pronounced it to be the most perfect in the world. Old Sarum existed when Somers and the great men of the revolution established our Government. Rutland sent as many members as Yorkshire when Hampden lost his life in defence of the constitution.

Are we, then, to conclude that Montesquieu praised a corrupt oligarchy—that Somers and the great men of that day expelled a king in order to set up a many-headed tyranny—that Hampden sacrificed his life for the interests of a borough-mongering faction?”

“No,” added he, emphatically; “the principles of this House are pure and worthy. If we should endeavour to change them altogether, we should commit the folly of the servant in the story of Aladdin, who was deceived by the cry of ‘new lamps for old.’ Our lamp is covered with dirt and rubbish, but it has a magical power. It has raised up a smiling land, not bestrode with overgrown palaces, but covered with thick-set dwellings, every one of which holds a free man, enjoying equal privileges and equal protection with the proudest subject in the land. It has called into life all the busy creations of commercial prosperity.”

Subsequently he defended the condemned boroughs, and enumerated the men of the highest intellectual eminence who had been indebted to them for their parliamentary position. They included Dunning, Lord North, Charles Townshend, Burke, Fox, Pitt, Lord Grenville, Sheridan, Windham, Perceval, Lord Wellesley, Lord Plunket, Canning, Huskisson, Brougham, Horner, Romilly, Tierney, Sir William Grant, Lord Liverpool, Lord Castle-reagh, and Lord Grey.

Reference having constantly been made to the late revolutionary movement on the Continent, he said in conclusion, "I, too, refer to the condition of France, and I hold up the late revolution, not as an example, but as a warning to this country. Granted that the resistance to authority was just, but look at the effects—on the national prosperity—on industry—on individual happiness—even of just resistance. Let us never be tempted to resign the well-tempered freedom which we enjoy, in the ridiculous pursuit of the wild liberty which France has established. What avails that liberty which has neither justice nor wisdom for its companions—which neither brings peace nor prosperity in its train? It was the duty of the King's Government to abstain from agitating this question at such a period as the present—to abstain from the excitement throughout the land of that conflict (God grant it may only be a moral conflict!) which may arise between the possessors of existing privileges and those to whom they are to be transferred. It was the duty of the Government to calm, not to stimulate, the fever of popular excitement. They have adopted a different course—they have sent through the land the firebrand of agitation; and no one can now recal it. Let us hope that there are limits to their powers of mischief. They have, like the giant enemy of the Philistines, lighted three hundred brands, and scattered through the country discord and dismay; but God forbid that they

should, like him, have the power to concentrate in death all the energies that belong to life, and to signalize their own destruction by bowing to the earth the pillars of that sacred edifice which contains within its walls, according even to their own admission, 'the noblest society of freemen in the world.'"¹

This was as forcible as it was true; indeed, the whole speech, which was one of the finest of those truly Ciceronean orations that established Sir Robert Peel's celebrity as one of the greatest orators of ancient or modern times, showed the superiority of argument over declamation.

In the meantime, the effects of the revolutionary movements in foreign countries were most deplorable. A series of sanguinary battles had been fought, particularly one on the 20th of April at Gronchow, near Warsaw, between the Polish and Russian armies, without any decisive result. Belgium continued to be without a settled form of Government, Louis Philippe having failed in establishing his son, the Duc de Nemours, on the vacant throne. His own Government seemed daily losing ground in popularity; and angry discussions had arisen in the Chamber of Deputies, which forced the King to dissolve it. A new Ministry had been appointed. General Lafayette and the extreme party had shown themselves desirous that France should interfere

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, ii. 1354.

both in Poland and Italy; but the Government appeared to be in favour of neutrality.

Insurrections had taken place at Bologna and Modena. In the latter city the palace of the Duke had been destroyed. Parma and the Legations joined in the movement. Austria marched a military force into the disturbed districts, and after one brief conflict took possession of Modena, Bologna, and Parma.

In England, orators continued to bid for popularity at public meetings got up in favour of the Reform Bill, by expressing the necessity of hostile demonstrations in case the Government measure should be lost. The state of Ireland grew more and more deplorable; Whiteboy outrages being frequent.

On the 3rd of March, when the Lord Chancellor was presenting reform petitions, it having been asked if they prayed for the ballot, the reply was in the negative. A discussion followed on the repeal of the Union, when Lord Grey stigmatized the agitation that had been got up on the subject as most pernicious to Ireland. The Duke of Wellington having inquired if Ministers intended to renew the law giving the Lord Lieutenant powers to suppress illegal meetings by proclamation, Earl Grey answered that such was their intention.

The fourth day's debate on the Reform Bill in the House of Commons produced several long

speeches on each side of the question, but nothing new was elicited. On the 7th, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Sussex, while presenting a petition for reform, expressed himself in favour of the Ministerial measure.

In the Commons, the adjourned debate on the fifth day commenced by a member bringing the attention of the House to the efforts that were being made to intimidate persons who were opposed to the Government Bill. The speaker said that no threat should prevent him from doing his duty, and that he scorned the opinions of those men who took such means to influence public opinion, who endeavoured by violent speeches to inflame the minds of the people, and went so far as to teach them that, if not by free discussion within those walls, by resorting to physical force, the measure proposed by his Majesty's Ministers must be carried. Instances of menacing language having been employed at a public meeting recently held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern were then given.

Lord Althorp considered the speech referred to, as a very violent and foolish one, but did not think the House could take any notice of it. A long debate ensued, which was again adjourned.

On the following day, the question was asked, in the Lords, why nothing had yet been settled

respecting the Civil List, as a Committee on the subject had been sitting a long time without having made any report; and the speaker inquired when the report would be ready. Earl Grey regretted so much delay had taken place, but thought it could not last much longer.

Mr. O'Connell commenced the sixth day's reform debate with a very long speech; Sir James Graham followed with another; but the subject had been exhausted of its interest by previous orators, and nothing remained to be said that could have the slightest pretence to novelty. The seventh day's debate was much to the same purpose, except that towards its conclusion Lord John Russell replied for the Government, and at the end of his speech leave was given to bring in the Bill. Lord John then moved for leave to bring in similar Bills for Scotland and Ireland, which, after a few remarks, was given.

The Duke of Wellington's opinions at this crisis are thus expressed:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 6, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I concur with you respecting Lord Wharncliffe's motion. He has been requested not to bring it on, and I think it possible that he will avoid doing so.

It certainly would give Lord Grey and Lord Brougham an opportunity of pulling to pieces the speeches which have been made in the House of Commons.

I concur with you likewise that in some views of the case it would have been better if the decision had been made to take the vote upon the introduction of the Bill. But in justification of the decision which was made by the members of the House of Commons, I believe unanimously, not to take the vote till the second reading, I must say that nobody suspected that the measure would be what it is, nor that it would be discussed as it has been, nor that the discussion would last for a week. Considering what a number of members were pledged to reform, and how much the attention of the country had been excited, it would not have been wise to take the vote upon the introduction of the Bill.

I feel all the inconveniences of delay as well in town and in the country as abroad. In foreign countries particularly, I believe that this discussion, and its continuance without a division, has shaken the authority of this country to its foundation.

But I don't think that we could now alter our course. Indeed, if we were to make the attempt at present, I am afraid that we should be baffled, and accused of a breach of faith with something very like justice.

The decision taken upon this case is like every other upon politics. There was a choice of difficulties. Those who decided adopted the course which presented the smallest number of difficulties. They are now about to feel the inconveniences of that course, and complain. But I don't see how it is possible to alter it, even though

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I think that some of the inconveniences were not foreseen when this course was decided upon.

I don't see any reason for which you should remain in town.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

CHAPTER X.

THE character of the Reform Bill took many of the Conservative leaders by surprise—they had not anticipated that any Administration would have ventured to suggest a measure aiming at changes so extensive. Its intentions, once known, excited among the Conservatives a sense of the necessity of union. As nothing less than the destruction of their parliamentary influence would satisfy their political opponents, the common danger produced a common sympathy.

The Duke of Buckingham communicated with the Duke of Wellington, who acknowledged that he entertained similar views with his correspondent, particularly in the propriety of dividing on the introduction of the Bill, though he excuses the course adopted as an unavoidable necessity. Both, it is evident, had a clear conception of the state of the case. Ministers had three objects in view—to weaken their rivals, to secure the support of their Radical associates, and to maintain their own possession of power; and no measure could have been better adapted for the attainment of such objects.

The great point, however, was the annihilation of the close boroughs, which it was thought would totally prevent the great Conservative landowners from having that large influence in the House of Commons the reformers had heretofore found so formidable. That gained, they did not question their ability to deal with the Radical interest in the House, should it run counter to their own.

The next note refers to a proposal for a negotiation of which the Duke of Wellington did not approve:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 9, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received your note last night, and have enclosed the memorandum transmitted therein to Lord Chandos.

I wish that I had known that you intended to seek this interview. I think that I could have stated reasons for avoiding it.

I am very strongly impressed with a sense of the dangers of the position in which the country is placed. But I don't think that that position can be improved by any negotiation of the description of that referred to in the paper enclosed by you.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

The proceedings of the Government to bear down

all opposition to their measure created great indignation among those who were thus attempted to be coerced. Lord Eldon, writing to his daughter, Lady F. J. Bankes, says, "The system of threatening persons who don't vote for reform is carried to a shocking length. Whether the members of the Legislature have nerves to withstand it, is very doubtful." In another communication to the same lady he wrote, "There is no describing the amazement this plan of reform has occasioned. There are divers opinions whether it will or will not pass the Commons. Generally it is thought that it cannot; but what will be the result of the operation of fear of the consequences that will follow in the minds of revolutionary men if it does not pass, and of fear in the minds of sober-minded men if it does pass, there is no saying."¹

Lord Eldon, though more than eighty years of age, watched this result with deep anxiety. He did not, however, shrink from publicly avowing his sentiments, either in the House of Lords or elsewhere; and at the Pitt Club dinner, alluding to the attempts that were daily made to hold up the Peers to popular odium, he said, "The aristocracy once destroyed, the best supporters of the lower classes would be swept away." He added, "that in using the term 'lower classes' he meant nothing offensive, acknowledging that he had sprung from

¹ Twiss's "Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon," ii. 261.

them, and that he gloried in the fact; and it was, in his opinion, a noble and delightful thing to know that the humblest man in the realm might by a life of industry, propriety, and good moral and religious conduct, rise to eminence."

In the House of Commons on the 11th of March, there was a debate on the West Indian trade with America. Subsequently, after Lord Althorp had moved the sugar duties, reference was made to the dreadful state of distress prevailing in the West Indies, and an amendment was proposed, "That all brown and muscovado and clayed sugars, imported from British possessions and the Mauritius, should be imported at a duty of twenty shillings per cwt." It was supported by Mr. Hunt and other members, but on a division was lost by a majority of ninety-eight.

On the 14th, in the House of Lords, Lord Wynford brought forward a motion on the Bankruptcy Court Bill, but it was lost by a majority of fifteen. On the same day, after a debate on the first fruits in Ireland, Lord Althorp announced the second reading of the Reform Bill; and on a discussion upon the army estimates Mr. Hume made remarks on the various grants required by Government, but did not oppose either.

Petitions were constantly presented to both Houses of the Legislature on behalf of the great Ministerial measure, and every attempt was made to show that it was universally advocated; but the

opposition to it was neither feeble nor unimportant. The chief of the great party opposed to it thus develops his views respecting reform, and the policy he desired to pursue in relation to it :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 19, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have received your letter of yesterday, and I must refer you to a former communication for a statement of the reasons for which I thought that it was impossible to alter the course in respect to the Reform Bill which was adopted by common, I might almost say universal, consent before Lord John moved his proposition. I believe that that course was correct; and that notwithstanding the cry in the newspapers, the well-judging people in the country, as well as in London, are against the measure. If that be true, time is in our favour.

It is my opinion that those opposed to the Bill ought, after discussion, to divide against it upon the second reading. The course of the discussion will show them what is the prevailing opinion of the House upon the measure itself, as well as upon the subject in general; and supposing they are beat, whether they ought to undertake to alter the measure in the Committee, or to gain time, or to propose another measure, or to expose this measure in the Committee, and then make a last effort to throw it out upon the third reading.

I am convinced, however, that the most parliamentary and the wisest mode of proceeding is to divide against the second reading of the Bill.

It is certainly true that the terror in the country is

very great. I don't know of which people are most afraid, of passing the Bill or of opposing it. I confess that I cannot believe that we are not strong enough to maintain the laws and institutions of the country, whatever they may be. I am convinced that the system of government, or rather of no government, which the Bill would establish, will, by due course of law, destroy the country; and I am therefore for opposing the Bill in the H. of Commons as well as in the H. of Lords, without compromise of any description.

I confess that I have never been able to see my way to the call of representatives from Birmingham, &c., without the infringement of some great principle by which the government of this country has hitherto been carried on.

Birmingham cannot be called to send representatives in addition to other towns, without a breach of the union with Scotland and Ireland. Then Birmingham does not stand alone; if the principle is invaded in the case of that town, it must be invaded in the case of many others; the grievance would then become practical. It would not do to plead that the representatives for Birmingham would be virtually the representatives for Scotland and Ireland. The answer is obvious. The representatives for Scotland and Ireland are virtually the representatives for the large towns.

Then to disfranchise Old Sarum and Gatton, in order to make room for representatives from Birmingham and Manchester, is equally inconsistent with the principle on which every charter, every property in the kingdom is held. I consider that if Lord John's Bill, or any other Bill passes, by which a borough will be deprived of its charter without proved delinquency, or an overpowering

necessity, a shake will be given to the property of every individual in the country. Upon the whole, then, I confess that I cannot see my way to any measure which I could approve of.

Both parties appear still very confident of success. I hear that the Whigs have, since the passing the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, raised their tone; that their members have expressed more confidently their hopes of success, and that even Mr. L***** of Stafford has offered to bet his money!

On the other hand, I hear that many of them are much alarmed at their own handiwork, and would not be sorry to see it destroyed. I understand that some, even in the Cabinet, have this feeling.

Believe me ever yours,

Most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The opinions of such a statesman as was the writer of this communication, demand the most earnest consideration. His account of the state of feeling existing in the two great political camps at this period of the campaign is not less luminous than trustworthy. The Duke had the best sources of information at his command, and could not avoid knowing that, despite of the public professions of some of the great Whig landed proprietors, they would be very glad to see the defeat of the Bill; and notwithstanding the confident tone of the supporters of the Government, the changes proposed in the constitution were so extensive, and the interests

affected by them so considerable, that some entertained doubts whether all "the pressure from without" they could bring to bear upon it, with the aid of their Radical friends, would insure its success.

The Duke of Buckingham was desirous of making concessions to the cry for legislative reform, and wrote to the Duke of Wellington, suggesting the bringing forward an amendment on the Government measure; the reply was what might have been anticipated from the writer's known decision of character.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 17, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have received your letter. You may rely upon it that I have no mind to press one course of proceeding more than another; all are the same to me that tend to throw out this Bill. But I think that you are mistaken respecting opinions here; many wish for some reform; many more are afraid that they must swallow some reform. But I have seen none that think that this Bill can be amended.

Believe me ever

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham.

Nothing could be more decisive than the tone of these communications. The Duke could not be

brought to acknowledge the plea of numbers as affecting the possession of the franchise, nor of any plea for taking away a right bestowed by the constitution, to transfer it, without proper and sufficient cause of forfeiture, on persons or places not recognised by the constitution. He would regard existing privileges as inalienable rights, and treated with contempt the clap-trap arguments that had been urged to engage largely populated districts in favour of the proposed alterations. Some of the Conservative leaders were for striving to effect a compromise by carrying amendments which sanctioned a more limited reform, but the Duke urged the safer course of throwing out the Bill altogether. At this stage of the Reform Bill, it is quite clear that he was averse to it in any shape.

On the 15th of March, the usual discussions in the House of Commons were varied by debates on the shipping interest and on the timber trade. They were followed by one on diplomatic and consular pensions, in the course of which Mr. Hume stated his opinion that ambassadors ought not to have retiring pensions. On the 17th, in the Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry directed the attention of the House to an offence committed by the Lord Chancellor in having forced his way through the King's guard on the last drawing-room, and asked an explanation from the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Hill related the transaction, by which it appeared that the coachman had driven through the Horse

Guards into the Park in the face of orders to the contrary from the officer there on duty. Lord Brougham entered into a long account of the incident, excusing his servant, who had merely fulfilled his orders to make as much haste to the drawing-room as possible.

On the same day, Mr. Hunt presented a petition praying for inquiry into what he styled "the Manchester massacre." A debate followed on secondary punishments, which brought up Mr. Hunt again, with a long statement respecting his imprisonment in Ilchester Gaol, including a severe attack upon gaolers in general. The following day there was another debate on the timber duties, when Lord Althorp explained the views of the Government on the question. On the motion, however, that the Chairman leave the chair, the House divided, when there was a majority against Ministers of forty-six.

On the 19th, in the House, Mr. Hunt presented a petition, with which, as he acknowledged, other liberal members had refused to have anything to do. It was ostensibly from some labourers at Kensington in the employ of Cobbett, complaining of their remuneration. On the 21st, in the Lords, there was a discussion on reform, in which the Duke of Wellington objected to the Lord Chancellor attempting to discuss that measure before it came regularly before the House.

In the Commons, on the 21st, Sir Robert Inglis

directed the attention of the House to a libel that had been published in one of the newspapers, and ended with a motion, which was seconded by Sir Roger Gresley : "That the paragraph now read by the clerk at the table is a false and scandalous libel on this House, directly tending to deter members of this House from the discharge of their duty, and calculated to alienate from them the respect and confidence of their fellow subjects." A long discussion ensued, but there was no division.

On the same day, Lord John Russell brought forward the second reading of the Reform Bill, when a new series of orations were delivered ; but it is doubtful whether the arguments produced a single convert on either side. The only thing remarkable in them was the courage of some of the Opposition speakers in braving what was considered public opinion by their skilful exposures of the weak points of the measure, and the motives of those who brought it forward.

On the following day there was a discussion on the Irish Reform Bill, when Mr. O'Connell was called to order by the Speaker. The adjourned debate was then commenced by Viscount Mahon, who made a forcible speech against the Ministerial measure. "Oh for one hour of Canning!" he exclaimed. "How would his keen eye have detected, his eloquent tongue have exposed the falsehoods and fallacies sought to be palmed upon the House in this discussion. How would his former friends

and associates have once more felt and acknowledged the mastery of his genius, and shrunk back to their allegiance.”¹

Another able speech on the same side was made by Viscount Castlereagh. He expressed himself in favour of a reform adapted to the exigencies of the constitution, but not such a sweeping, destructive scheme as the one proposed by his Majesty’s Ministers. He boldly stated what would be the results of the measure in Ireland, referred to the threats that had been held out against its opposers, averred that he was unconnected with any party, and gave the assurance that he should vote from conscientious conviction, though it might be the last he should give in the House.

A powerful speech for reform was made by the Attorney-General, which elicited a masterly reply from Sir James Scarlett. After another speech from Lord John Russell, and some remarks by Mr. Hunt, the House divided, when the majority in favour of the Government measure was found to be *one*, there being 302 members for the second reading, and 301 against it.

In a House of 658 members, as 27 were absent, and 7 places were unrepresented, such a division was equivalent to a defeat, and shows how much Ministers were indebted for the support of the English and Irish Radicals. This will more plainly appear by the following analysis :—

¹ “Hansard,” Third Series, iii. 722.

ENGLAND.		<i>Majorities.</i>	<i>Minorities.</i>
Members returned by counties . . .	60	32	
„ „ counties of cities	26	4	
„ „ universities . . .	2	2	
Boroughs in which the right of suffrage was extensive, the population exceeding 4000	74	56	
Boroughs where the population exceeds 4000, but where the suffrage was in the hands of a close corporation, or of a very small number of individuals	20	20	
Boroughs that were to be disfranchised, the population not exceeding 2000 .	80	80	
Boroughs that were to lose one member, the population not exceeding 4000 .	82	52	
	<hr/> 244	<hr/> 246	
Majority of English members against the Bill	2		
SCOTLAND.			
Members returned by counties . . .	10	16	
Ditto by boroughs	4	11	
	<hr/> 258	<hr/> 278	
Majority of English and Scottish members against the Bill	15		
IRELAND.			
Members returned by counties . . .	40	22	
„ „ close corporations	3	10	
Boroughs with extensive right of suffrage	11	6	
	<hr/> 312	<hr/> 311	
Majority for the Bill of English, Scottish, and Irish members . . .	1		
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A number of petitions had been presented against the Government measure—among them one from the Sheriffs and Common Council, and another from the merchants of Dublin, on the 23rd, by Lord Farnham, in the House of Lords, which produced a discussion, in which the Earls of Roden, Carnarvon, and Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Richmond took part. In the Commons the Committee of Supply proceeded with their votes, Mr. Hume and Mr. Hunt now satisfying themselves with making mild objections.

The next day, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry exposed the character of a petition for reform that had been brought forward as expressing the sentiments of the freeholders of the County of Down. He referred to the use that had been made of the King's name as approving of the measure, and the threats and unfair declarations that had been expressed in and out of Parliament, and condemned the Bill for the sweeping nature of the changes it was intended to effect. Earl Grey defended the measure, the conduct of Ministers, and the petition.

The Duke of Wellington regretted that such discussions should take place before the subject was fairly before the House. Nevertheless, having examined the measure that had been brought into the other House, he could not but consider that it would alter every interest existing in the country.

The proposed changes would not, however, he said, affect him, as he had no borough property; and having briefly referred to his services during a period of very nearly half a century, he stated that he could not regard the results of the Government measure without the most serious apprehensions.

In the other House there was a debate on the Irish Reform Bill, in the course of which Sir Robert Peel attacked the measure in a very eloquent speech, referring particularly to the Ministerial assertion that it was a final settlement of the question, which he prophetically assured the House was fallacious. It is worth while to compare his prospective description of its results with subsequent facts:—

“Probably,” he said, “for a short time there may be a general wish, at least on the part of the reformers, to acquiesce in its provisions. The expectation of great benefits, gratitude for new privileges, the pleasure of novelty, may secure a short trial for the new constitution. But these impressions will gradually grow weaker. The classes that are left unrepresented will begin to stir—they will read the preamble of the Bill, and with some justice inquire why they should be excluded from its benefits.”

He then exposed some of the inconsistent arrangements of the measure, and the mischiefs that must arise from continually enlarging the democratic influence in the senate. In conclusion he

mission that any reform is necessary ; which, if they will examine their own opinions, they will find to be inconsistent with the truth, and to be an admission which leads to all the consequences of the measure now under discussion.

It is impossible for me to say whether the King will or will not dissolve his Parliament. I dined at St. James's yesterday. The King appeared to be better, more at his ease, and in better spirits than when I had seen him before. I understand that he was so considered by those who see more of H. M. than I do. This may be to be attributed to his being relieved from the necessity of dissolving Parliament, or to his feeling that the state of the Reform Bill in Parliament gives him fair ground for yielding to the solicitations of his Ministers on that subject. He may view the subject in either way.

All that I know is that, if the Ministers take a vote for the Ordinance between this and Good Friday, they have the means to enable them to dissolve the Parliament. I think that they were going last night to propose a farther vote on account of the Civil List. But, whether they take this vote or not, they can dissolve.

I quite agree with you in respect to the effect of the Reform Bill now depending ; and I certainly never will enter the House of Lords from the time that it passes. But having served the King and his predecessors for forty-five years, during above thirty of them in situations of trust and confidence, I cannot retire from his service. I propose to continue to serve him, therefore, as long as I shall be permitted to do so with honour ; that is to say, as long as I may not be insulted by the servants of his Government.

But I will not be degraded even with the H. of Lords.

Believe me ever

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The strong feelings expressed by the Duke towards the conclusion of the preceding communication prove how earnest was his opposition to the measure; and, as he had stated in Parliament, as he had no pecuniary stake in the contest, these feelings arose from his conviction that grave mischiefs must arise from the extensive changes that were to be made in the existing system of representation. That he subsequently changed his intention never to enter the House of Lords after the passing of the obnoxious Bill, every one knows; but every one does not bear in mind the affronts this illustrious man had received when he thus expressed himself. There seemed not only a general consent among his political opponents to ignore his long and important services, but every encouragement appeared to be given by the supporters of Government to hold him up to public derision.

On the 25th of March discussions arose respecting the supplies and the Civil List. Sir Thomas Fremantle was desirous that no advantage should be taken by the House of the King's expressed intention not to accept an outfit for the Queen; but

Messrs. Hunt, Hume, and O'Connell made objections. Lord Althorp then proposed a grant of 510,000*l.* for the expenses of the royal household. Mr. Hume moved an amendment for the reduced sum of 423,470*l.* He was supported by Mr. Hunt and Mr. O'Connell, but there was no division.

Lord Wharncliffe had given notice of a motion for papers referring to parliamentary reform, and the attendance of the Opposition peers was considered important.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 26, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

As I may not see Lord Chandos this morning, I write you one line to tell you that Lord Wharncliffe came to the House of Lords yesterday, determined to bring on his motion on Monday.

You have no time to lose, if you should wish to be present.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

There was no sign of indecision in the Conservative party: notwithstanding the risk every member of it ran from mob violence, the disposition to defend the constitution did not abate; the pilots who had assisted in navigating the vessel of the State through many a dangerous channel, now dispossessed of authority, were expected to look on and see the good ship led amongst the breakers; but

they chose to remonstrate, and endeavoured to prove to the thoughtless crew their criminal folly. With "youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm," burlesqued by the officers in command, there was but little hope of escape for the passengers; nevertheless, an interposition was attempted, which it was hoped would yet be in time to avert the threatened mischief.

The Duke of Wellington sought to give confidence to his friends by the unequivocal nature of his opposition. The more he looked at reform, the less he seemed to like it—the more he looked for its necessity, the less he appeared to see it. He made up his mind that it was "a cheat, a delusion, and a snare"—a false pretence of general improvement to obtain domination for a particular section of the community—a sham prospect of advantage to the masses, to secure exclusive privileges to a few.

CHAPTER XI.

[1831.]

MODERATE REFORMERS—NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE CONSERVATIVES—
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S OPPOSITION—HIS VIEWS AND INTEN-
TIONS—RESULTS OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION—THE DUKE OF
CUMBERLAND—MR. HUNT'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S
CHANGE OF OPINION RESPECTING THE REFORM BILL—RADICAL
ALTERCATIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—SETTLEMENT ON THE
QUEEN—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—MINISTERS IN A MINORITY
ON THE REFORM BILL—EXTRAORDINARY SCENES IN BOTH HOUSES
OF THE LEGISLATURE—THE DISSOLUTION.

CHAPTER XI.

ON the 28th, in the House of Lords, a desire was expressed for a classification of the reform petitions, that it might be ascertained how many prayed for the Ministerial measure, and how many for other objects. Lord Wharncliffe subsequently made his proposed motion, prefaced by an able analysis of the measure before the country, which was followed by speeches from Lord Eldon and the Lord Chancellor. Lord Durham attacked the borough proprietors; the Duke of Richmond followed on the same side; the Marquis of Londonderry attacked the Duke for inconsistency; and after a long speech from the Lord Chancellor, a manly one from the Duke of Wellington, and a reply from Earl Grey at considerable length, the motion was agreed to without a division.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after a discussion on the coal trade, the report of the Committee on the Civil List was brought up; and though Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell spoke in opposition, apparent rather than real, the resolutions were agreed to. The navy estimates were

then proposed, which brought up Messrs. Hume and O'Connell more than once, but they did not attempt to divide the House.

On the 29th the Marquis of Chandos declared himself in favour of a moderate reform that would secure the rights of the people and preserve the constitution. Subsequently discussions on petitions for and against reform took up nearly the whole of the sitting.

On the following day, discussions occurred in the Lords respecting the question of the alleged abuses in the existing system of representation, for which no remedy had been provided by the Government measure. It was said, with unquestionable truth, that, should this Bill pass into law, bribery would exist to a greater extent, and be more difficult of proof. Unqualified opposition to the character of the Bill was then expressed, and references made to the mischievous agitation that had been got up in England and Ireland to advance it. And it was hoped that a measure of reform might yet be proposed, to which every honest man could give his approbation.

This prophetic intimation of the results of the Bill has been fully proved by the evidence taken before the Committees that have tried the contested elections since the measure became a law. But what has become known on this point bears a small proportion only to what has not been suffered to transpire.

In the Commons there were the usual discursive discussions, the most important being on the salaries of public officers, and on distress and relief in Ireland. After which the Houses adjourned for the Easter holidays.

The critical state of the Government, from not possessing a working majority in the House of Commons, and having a large majority opposed to them in the Lords, made it necessary that the Opposition should be organized in such a manner as to render its power available when the proper opportunity for an effective demonstration should arrive. A desire was daily gaining strength among the Conservatives, either that the sections into which it had been divided should coalesce for a common object, or that a new party should be established, composed of the most able and influential members of the Opposition, with a particular policy and under an enterprising chief. Both views the reader has already seen advocated; and it was considered that the proper time for communicating with Sir Robert Peel had arrived; he was therefore written to for the purpose of ascertaining his sentiments. His reply is annexed:—

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

(Private and Confidential.)

Whitehall Gardens, March 28, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

I have to make many apologies to your Grace for not having returned an immediate answer to the communication with which you favoured me respecting the present critical position of public affairs. Your consideration and kindness will probably have suggested the true reason for the delay—the incessant demands on every moment of my time for the instant despatch of parliamentary or official business.

I beg to assure your Grace that I am the last person to misinterpret or to undervalue the motives which dictated, and could alone have dictated, the communication with which you have favoured me.

I have not, I assure you, countenanced the rumours respecting intended, or possible, resignation, to which your Grace alludes.

I am deeply impressed with the impolicy of declaring, and even of forming beforehand, positive resolutions as to the course to be pursued by a public man upon contingencies, the precise character and bearing of which must materially depend upon many accompanying circumstances which it is difficult to foresee.

I will not act, in any event, upon any personal feeling of pique or mortification. I will give that full consideration—to which they are so justly entitled—to the suggestions which your Grace has offered; and, whatever course I may resolve to take, I shall do full justice to the

feelings and motives which have influenced your Grace in addressing me at this important crisis.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord Duke,

Your very faithful and obedient servant;

ROBERT PEEL.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G.

This communication is diplomatically vague and cautious—it promises only to take the Duke's suggestions into consideration; but as the latter was in favour of a moderate reform, and the Duke of Wellington, with whom Sir Robert Peel maintained the closest political relations, objected strongly to reform in any shape, it was easy to anticipate the result of any separate negotiation with Sir Robert. His policy was that of his late colleague, though he occasionally put forward evidences of a more conciliatory disposition. His intention was to watch and wait attack whenever a favourable opening presented itself, but have nothing to do with alliances which would leave him without the support of the Duke of Wellington, whose fame amongst his countrymen he expected must sooner or later restore to him that large measure of political influence of which he had been deprived through the recent agitation.

There appeared to be a pressing necessity for an amalgamation, and negotiations were opened with Lord Eldon and Lord Sidmouth. We do not find

any trace of these in the papers published by the learned Lord Chancellor's biographer, except in a notice that Lord Eldon had some conversation with Lord Sidmouth upon reform on the day of the second reading of the Bill; nor is there any reference to it in Dr. Pellew's "Life and Correspondence of Lord Sidmouth." Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that an attempt was made to bring together Lord Eldon and the Duke of Wellington; and the Duke of Buckingham appears to have had some communications with the latter on the subject. At least such an inference is to be gathered from the following letter:—

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

(Private and Confidential.)

St. James's Palace, March 31, 1831.
Six o'clock P.M.

MY LORD DUKE,

I am this moment returned from your Grace's in Pall Mall, where I had hoped still to have found you, especially after I had read the contents of your letter, intimating what the Speaker is said to have stated. The object of my wishing to see your Grace was to learn from you if, in consequence of what passed between us yesterday morning, you had had any communication with the D. of Wellington on the subject of Lord Eldon, as I was anxious that, *for fear* of any jealousy arising from such a measure, all the good *begun* by bringing these two statesmen to-

gether might be done away with. Therefore I am sorry your Grace has left London ere this has been settled.

With respect to whether, in case that Lord E. demanded that audience, other peers should demand the same, I own it appears to me that such a measure is most highly desirable, and there could not be a better choice than the two dukes you have suggested; and I think, if Lord Sidmouth could be prevailed upon, it would be a most salutary measure.

May I beg your Grace to favour me with a line by return of post, letting me know what has passed between you and the D. of Wellington.

Believe me, my Lord Duke,

Yours very truly,

ERNEST.

It would appear from the foregoing that an intention had been entertained by Lord Eldon of asking an audience of the King; for the purpose, possibly, of representing to his Majesty the mischievous tendency of the course pursued by his confidential advisers, and that he was to be accompanied by other Peers, possessed of similar experience in the consideration of State affairs; but if such was their intention, it must have been subsequently abandoned.

The Duke of Wellington stood firm in the position he had taken up, and it is pretty clear that Sir Robert Peel stood with him. The latter would attend to no suggestions for a re-organization of his party, and maintained a reserve as to his own in-

tentions; the former, on the contrary, spoke out his sentiments clearly and determinedly, though as much averse to the proposed amalgamation as he was to countenance any modified plan of reform such as some of his personal friends had expressed their willingness to favour. He would not listen to reform in any shape, and would oppose it at every stage. There was not the slightest hope of getting him from this position, or of persuading him to alter these tactics.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, April 1, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was under the necessity of going out at twelve on Wednesday; I was out all day, and could not call upon you, nor fix a time to receive you at my home.

I am convinced that there is but one safe course about reform, and that is to oppose the Government upon every question that may occur in the further discussion of the Bill; with a view to reject it altogether, if possible.

I am opposed to all reform; and can without personal or indeed public inconvenience avow my opinion. Indeed, I believe that some advantage is gained by the knowledge which the public have of my opinion on this subject. But others may not entertain the same opinion, or may not be in a situation to think that they ought to avow it; or they may think that a better mode of getting rid of the Bill is to break it down by some vote in the committee short of rejecting the first clause.

Now all these, and even moderate reformers, will be

brought to act together, if all determine at all events to vote against whatever the Government propose or vote for.

I had no conversation with Sir Robert Peel after I saw you in the House of Lords on Tuesday. My belief is that he wishes to defeat the Bill. He may think some reform desirable, but of that I am not so certain. Of this I am certain, viz., that he will not propose, or be a party to the proposition of any plan.

I think that Lord Grey and Lord Brougham ought to have cured moderate reformers by their speeches on Monday night. Lord Brougham was unanswerable on the topic of the advantages which the reformers had acquired by their adversaries adopting moderate reform; and Lord Wharncliffe admitted, in reply to Lord Grey, that his position was as untenable as a "resting-place" as that of the Government plan.

Upon the whole, I am convinced that the real ground to stand upon is to reject the Bill, contending against any reform. I hear from all quarters that the public opinion is changing. It is obvious, at all events, that men will listen to objections, and that there are some willing to make them.

Believe me, ever yours,

Most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

H.G. the Duke of Buckingham, K.G., &c.

These representations were entitled to consideration: indeed, there was force in that which showed the advantage the reformers were likely to take of the acknowledgment that some reform was necessary; and if the weakness of the position of the

moderate reformers were allowed, there was no alternative for them from acceptance of the more antagonistic policy of the Duke. He was evidently well aware of this; and though he expresses some doubt as to the reform views of Sir Robert Peel, he expresses none as to his disinclination to originate or adopt any particular plan of operations.

Communications continued to pass on the all-absorbing subject of reform, but the Duke of Wellington's invariably breathed hostility to the Government measure. The manner in which he describes, in the following letter, his relations with the royal family is highly characteristic; and very interesting is the account he gives, towards the conclusion, of the effect produced by the Roman Catholic Relief Bill:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, April 5, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I quite concur with you that the mode of opposing the Bill is to oppose any disfranchisement. This is the course which I will take.

I would recommend to you to urge your friends to take that course in preference to any other. But, if they should find themselves defeated upon that course, to take any other, the least disadvantageous. I should say that, if they should be in doubt, they cannot do better than vote against that which the Government will propose.

The more I consider of the Bill, the more convinced I am of its disastrous consequences to the country ; but it is not easy to defeat it.

I have never offended the D. of Cumberland. After the settlement of the R. C. question, H.R.H. did me the honour of noticing me, and of speaking to me more than once. H.R.H. afterwards, that is to say, from the 12th August, 1829, thought proper to discontinue to do me that honour.

When H.R.H. or any of the royal family notices me, I consider that an honour is done me ; I regret much when that honour is withheld from me ; but I have done nothing to deserve the deprival of it. On the contrary, I believe that it is known to H.R.H. that I did my duty by him in a case in which he was personally interested.

I never have failed, nor never will fail, in respect for his Royal Highness or his family, and I must wait with patience till the moment will arrive when H.R.H. will think proper to notice me.

It is curious enough that I should be the only loser by the R. C. question. I never come into the country, or go into society in the country, that some gentleman or other does not approach me to thank me for the good that it has done him personally. There is no doubt that it has done some good in Ireland, though not all that might have been expected from it ; it has relieved many from a burden which overpowered them, and has enabled them to enter the public service. It has relieved the empire at large from the impending danger of a civil contest on a question on which the majority of one House of Parliament, an increasing minority in the other, the greatest part of the intelligence of Great Britain, and nearly all the population of Ireland, were of opinion that concession

ought to be made. I alone have suffered. But I console myself with the reflection that I did my duty ; that I have satisfied myself ; and I must leave the rest to chance.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

H.G. the D. of Buckingham, K.G.

The Duke mentions the advantages which he believed resulted from the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, but is silent respecting the fruitful crop of evils it produced. He could not, however, be ignorant that the extraordinary influence of O'Connell, and the difficulties and embarrassments of the English Government arising out of it, as well as the dreadful condition of the Protestant portion of the population of Ireland, could clearly be traced to that measure. It is quite true that the country was in a state of dissatisfaction ; but this seems to have been the case as far back as there are records of English domination ; and it is doubtful whether at any period this dissatisfaction was more general or less hostile than it became after the great act of reconciliation, as it was represented, had been granted.

The desired amalgamation was not effected so completely as the promoters of it wished ; but a mutual approach was made by some persons who had been a considerable time on indifferent terms.

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Such was the case between the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Wellington; this, however, will be best explained by his Royal Highness.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Palace, April 8, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have just received your Grace's letter of yesterday's date, for which I beg your acceptance of my best thanks, as well as for the extract of the Duke of Wellington's letter, upon which I cannot refrain from stating that when his Grace says "that I had spoken to him more than once after the settlement of the R. C. question, and that it was only since the 12th of August, 1829, that I had ceased doing so," his Grace's recollection and mine do not concur. According to my recollection, since a very long, and I may say very unpleasant conversation that I had with the Duke at Windsor, the latter part of February, 1829, I have not had any conversation with him; and according to that recollection have not exchanged a word with his Grace since once in the Park when he met with an accident at the review.

What the Duke can mean by saying "that I knew he did his duty in a case in which I was personally interested," I am really at a loss to make out, not knowing what circumstance he can allude to, unless it be respecting a diabolical threat of murder by a person named *Ash*; with regard to which I considered his Grace as acting as H.M. Minister. I merely make these remarks, however, to your Grace, in order that my conduct may not appear to you capricious or inconsistent.

However, now I am sure I am, under present circum-

stances, the last person to touch upon these past events, and as the Duke of W. called on me, I thought it right immediately in return to call on him at Apsley House, and shall feel no difficulty in conversing with him whenever I may meet him. I certainly lament very much having been from home when he called at St. James's; and though I called on him the next day at twelve o'clock, I was told he had left town that morning. It appears to me that, in times such as these, it is necessary for every wellwisher to his country, who is attached to the monarchy and the constitution, to meet and resist the revolutionary Bill now pending in Parliament, which, if carried, must, according to my humble opinion, annihilate all our institutions both in Church and State, and, sooner or later, lead to the repeal of the Union.

Ministers, I understand, boldly affirm they will carry the Bill by a majority of twenty-five to thirty; but I believe this is a mere *ruse de guerre*, for I am told of no diminution in our ranks by those who I believe are pretty well informed.

I am ashamed at the length of my letter; but I felt it necessary, after the confidential manner in which your Grace has entrusted me with the D. of W.'s reply, to say what I have done.

When you return to town I hope to see you.

Believe me, my Lord Duke,

Yours very sincerely,

ERNEST.

The House of Commons resumed its sittings on the 12th of April, and commenced with a discussion on the petitions against reform; in the course of which Mr. Hunt acknowledged that there was a

reaction of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, as many persons in Staffordshire and Warwickshire now being against it as for it. Even in Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton, and Preston, with one exception, he said, the people thought that they had been deluded by it. The Spitalfields weavers, he asserted, were of the same opinion.¹ This startling avowal gave grave offence to the reformers; and the assertion the speaker afterwards made, that he was an enemy to the measure, because it did not go far enough, was not calculated to appease their indignation.

The House, on resolving itself into a Committee on the Civil List Bill, Messrs. Hume and O'Connell made as usual a faint opposition; another discussion on the Reform Bill came on on the following day, which preceded one on the borough of Weymouth. Subsequently there was a debate on the county of Clare; after which the House went into a Committee of Supply.

In the House of Lords, on the 14th, the Duke of Wellington presented a petition against reform from the noblemen, freeholders, justices of the peace, and Commissioners of Supply of the county of Dumbarton, and stated his opinion that it was the duty of the Government to have consulted the interests of the great landed proprietors of Scotland before they had brought forward their measure.

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, iii., 1245.

The Marquis of Londonderry asked for information of the intentions of Ministers respecting reform, when Earl Grey repeated his declaration to stand or fall with the Bill.

On the same day the usual discussions in the Commons were much enlivened by an interchange of personalities between Mr. Hunt and Mr. O'Connell. The former referred to the attacks that had been made upon him by Messrs. Hume and O'Connell, so that, as he said, "between Sawney and Blarney, he had enough upon his hands." This brought upon him a good deal of abuse from his Radical friends, which again stirred up Mr. Hunt, who made the most of his time and opportunity. Mr. O'Connell replied. Mr. Hunt replied to the reply. Mr. O'Connell put in a rejoinder. The patience of the House, or the amusement they found in the contest, prevented any interference; but Mr. Hunt retained his seat and his temper, and left the advantage of the last word to his opponent.

Subsequently the third reading of the Civil List Bill brought up Mr. Hume twice, but with a very mild form of opposition. On a clause being proposed by Lord Althorp to add certain charges to the Civil List, he proposed an amendment excluding pensions to the amount of 75,000*l*. In this he was seconded by Mr. Hunt, because, as he naïvely said, "out of doors these discussions were called sham debates in which no division took place." On a

division only seventeen voted for the amendment. Next Mr. Hume proposed a reduction of 8000*l.* in the allowances of the royal dukes, in which he was also seconded by Mr. Hunt; but there was again no division.

On the 15th, in the House of Commons, Lord Althorp moved, as a provision for her Majesty, in case she should survive the King, that 100,000*l.* a year, Bushey Park, and Marlborough House should be settled upon her for life. It was agreed to. Mr. Fowell Buxton then made a speech on negro slavery, ending it with a motion for effecting abolition throughout the British dominions. A long debate followed, which was adjourned.

It was evident that Lord Grenville did not take a brighter view of the prospects of the country than other politicians had done.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 15, 1831.

My views of all that is passing are as gloomy as yours can be; and I am thankful for any employment that can for a moment assist my constant, but too often unsuccessful attempts to turn aside my mind from evils which, in 1825, I vainly hoped (but alas! what are our hopes?) I at least should not live to see, even in near prospect, much less in actual and rapid advance.

The House of Lords, on the 18th, were engaged

in considering a breach of privilege. In the Commons, after the customary rambling discussion on reform petitions, the Parliamentary Reform Bill went into Committee under the auspices of Lord John Russell. He announced certain alterations. General Gascoyne moved an amendment, "That it is the opinion of this House that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be diminished." This was seconded by Mr. Sadler, in a speech of great power and of considerable length. Lord Althorp replied. Other members spoke on the subject, after which the debate was adjourned.

The next day the Lords resumed their consideration of the breach of privilege; and the printer of the *Times* journal was committed to the custody of the usher of the black rod for having printed a libel on the House. Lord Grey then moved that the House go into Committee on the Civil List. The Duke of Wellington objected to a reduction in the number of Government officers; but after remarks from Lords Goderich, Ellenborough, and Carnarvon, the clauses of the Bill were agreed to without any amendment.

In the adjourned debate in the Commons, Mr. O'Connell was called to order by the Speaker. Mr. Hunt did not oppose Mr. O'Connell, but the amendment. Sir Robert Peel, the Attorney-General, and several other eminent orators addressed the House,

and Lord John Russell concluded the debate. The House divided, when, for the amendment, there voted 299; against it 291. Majority against Ministers, *eight*.

A discussion on the recent breach of privilege in the House of Lords on the 20th became quite exciting in consequence of remarks between the Marquis of Londonderry and the Lord Chancellor. In the Commons, on the same day, on the motion for the ordnance estimates, Mr. Hume acquiesced. He afterwards lectured Mr. Hunt for expressing unguarded opinions respecting the Reform Bill and the people. Mr. Hunt spoke several times, and was called to order by the Speaker.

On the next day reform petitions formed the chief subject of interest in the Lords till the breach of privilege case was brought forward, when the printer was reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor, and discharged out of custody. Subsequently Lord Wharncliffe brought under the attention of the House the fact that the King had not consented to the Civil List Bill; an omission on the part of Ministers that was commented on by the Duke of Wellington. There was another incidental debate in the House of Commons on reform, followed by another division, in which the Government found themselves in a minority of twenty-two on a motion for adjournment.

On the 21st there was a very lively discussion

between the Marquis of Londonderry and the Duke of Richmond; and their example appears to have affected other peers, for an extraordinary scene of excitement ensued. "It is impossible," says a trustworthy authority, "to describe the confusion, the noise, and impetuosity that prevailed from one end of the House to the other. The peeresses present seemed alarmed. Some of the peers were, as it appeared in the confusion, almost scuffling, and as if shaking their hands at each other in anger."¹

The Earl of Mansfield addressed the House under these unpromising circumstances, and strove to calm the general excitement, but was interrupted in his discourse by loud cries of "The King! the King!" Presently the large doors at the right hand of the throne were thrown open, and his Majesty, accompanied by his attendants, entered, and took his seat on the throne.

After the Commons had been summoned, and the royal assent had been given to the Civil List, indemnity, colonial trade, post-office sale, and other private Bills, the King read a speech announcing the prorogation and subsequent dissolution of Parliament, for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the people on reform in the way in which it could be most constitutionally and authentically expressed. The Commons were thanked for the provision they had made for the honour and dignity

¹ "Hansard," Third Series, iii., 1808.

of the Crown, for the Queen, and for the supplies for the public service; and the usual assurance was given as to the friendly intercourse that existed between the Sovereign and foreign Powers. The King retired, and the House was dismissed.

In the meantime a similar scene of disorder had been exhibited in the Commons, during which the Speaker interposed frequently to restore order, for the reformers were treating Sir Robert Peel, who had possession of the House, with the most unseemly interruptions. The disturbance ended when the usher of the black rod summoned the House to attend his Majesty in the House of Peers.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 22, 1831.

How can I talk or think of anything but the fearful news I this morning receive of the dissolution? I most deeply pity the poor King, to whom, if I myself had the fearful duty of advising him (God be thanked that I had not!), I really do not see what other course I could have suggested. It would have been quite as impossible for Peel as for the present men to carry on any Government in such a body. Will this step bring together a better, either now or hereafter, when they shall have passed, or attempted again without success to pass, their Reform Bill?

I know not, and my mind and body are no longer strong enough to look calmly at such dangers as now threaten us on every side.

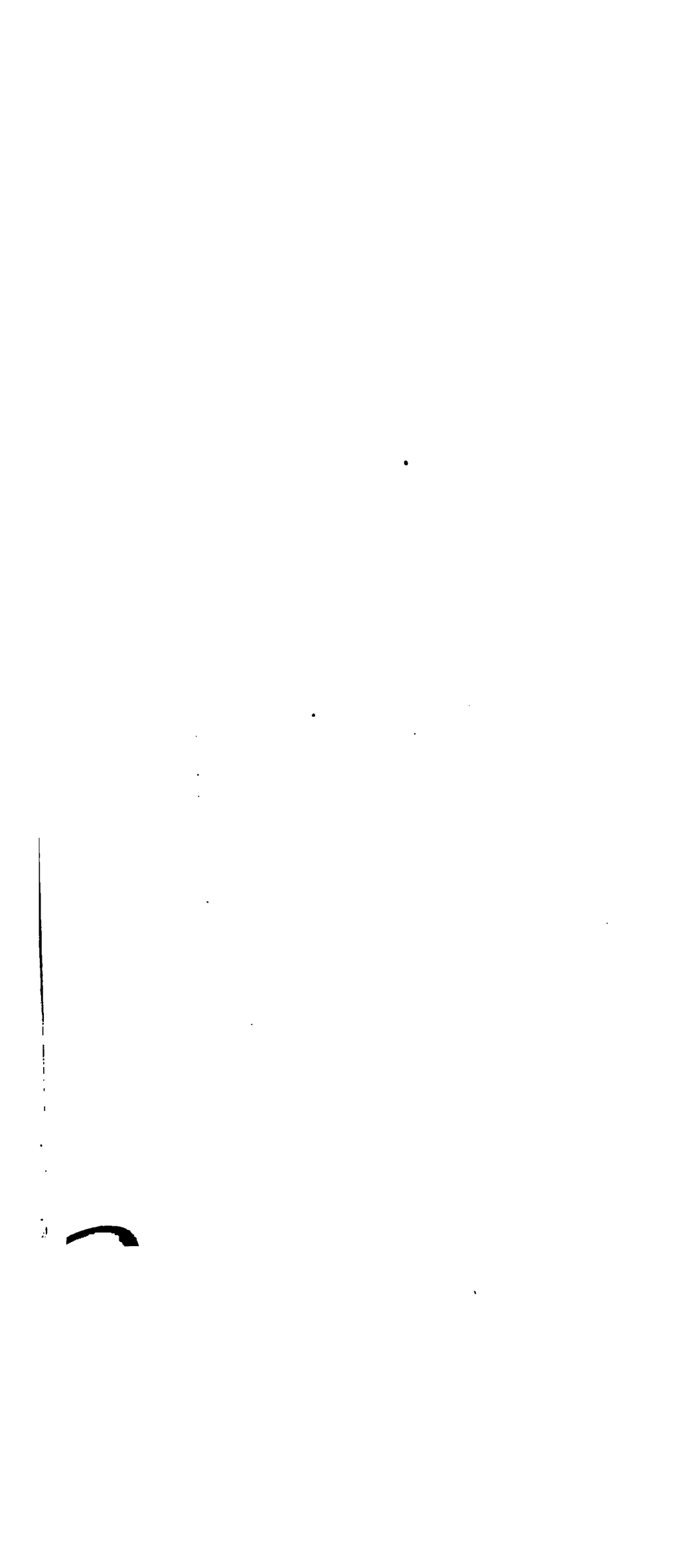
God bless and preserve you and yours!

The Government, therefore, having received two signal defeats while bringing forward their grand measure, had been forced into an acknowledgment of their own weakness by an abrupt termination of the parliamentary session. The temper with which they received their humiliation may be seen in the discreditable scenes they got up in each House of the Legislature on the eve of the authorized declaration of their failure. This was, however, no more than might have been expected: the genuine reformers had before them a large field of labour that included everything—except themselves.

CHAPTER XII.

[1831.]

AGITATION RECOMMENCED—MOB ATTACKS ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND SIR ROBERT WILSON—THE GENERAL ELECTION—THE DUKE'S OPINION OF THE DISSOLUTION—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—PROCEEDINGS IN BOTH HOUSES—SEDITIONOUS PUBLICATIONS—EXTRACTS FROM "THE POOR MAN'S GUARDIAN," "THE REPUBLICAN," "THE PROMPTER"—MR. HUNT'S PARLIAMENTARY LABOURS—"CITIZEN HUME" AND HIS CHARGE AGAINST THE ARISTOCRACY—DEBATES ON THE REFORM BILL—PROVISION FOR QUEEN ADELAIDE—PRINCE LEOPOLD OF SAXE-COBURG SELECTED TO BE KING OF THE BELGIANS—HE SURRENDERS HIS ENGLISH PENSION.



CHAPTER XII.

THE defeat was thus acknowledged, notwithstanding the assistance the Government had accepted from the Radicals, and the menaces and abuses that had been thrown out against the leaders of the Opposition; the popular clamour that had been got up in favour of the measure—the ostentatious use that had been made of the King's name as favouring it, and the unmanly attacks that had been made upon the Queen for being supposed to be adverse to its passing into a law.

The Radical leaders in Parliament had done infinite mischief to the character of their Ministerial colleagues among people of sense and respectability, by their unparliamentary conduct and gross abuse of each other and of the public time. The threats that had been so freely lavished against the Duke of Wellington and his friends, had excited the latter to a more strenuous resistance. One of the mob orators having proved that the people did not care for the Government measure, and would not be satisfied without much more hazardous changes, exposed even to the Whigs the real character of

mob co-operation, and the abuse of the King's name was not more popular at Court than the abuse of the Queen ; for it was generally understood by those who had an opportunity of learning the true state of the case, that though his Majesty acquiesced in the proceedings of his Ministers, he was far from cordial in his support of their measure, and regarded the insults that had been circulated against his consort with great indignation.

The Government had confessed themselves beaten, and had determined to play the game of agitation over again, with more experience and greater facilities for winning. The democratic and regal elements in the constitution were to be made the most of. The lower classes were excited by accounts of " the sailor King " being determined to assist the people in gaining their rights, and by a dissolution, putting an end for ever to the power of " a corrupt oligarchy," that by factious opposition to their just demands, had frustrated for a time his Majesty's affectionate intentions ; and the King was everywhere announced as supporting his Ministers in the most zealous manner, and taking the deepest interest in the new experiment to obtain a more popular Parliament.

The result was a general illumination in honour of the dissolution, and a mob demonstration in dishonour of the Opposition leaders. The City was made brilliant with lamps and eloquent with transparencies, which filled the principal thoroughfares

with a portion of the population ready to take advantage of any opportunity for a riot; and the houses of the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Londonderry, Sir Robert Peel, Sir Robert Wilson, and a few other gentlemen, were surrounded, and with a chorus of yells, every accessible pane of glass they presented was broken. No interruption was offered to this outrage. The people were to be conciliated, therefore their friends in power folded their arms and looked on while they were disgracing themselves and the nation by a senseless act of destruction. The attack upon Apsley House in particular left a stigma upon England that must have been felt by every Englishman of character; and these wanton mischiefs showed to the advocates of universal suffrage how worthy their clients were of political power of any kind.

Two men of very different calibre must have regarded the destruction of their property and this manifestation of democratic displeasure with a similar appreciation of mob popularity. The Duke of Wellington could not have forgotten the enthusiastic recognition of his services when the English people were grateful and rational. Now, because he was conscientiously opposed to a measure which, he thought, while it could confer on them no real benefit, was likely to create irremediable evils, his mansion was assailed by savage and vindictive rioters, when the Duchess was known to be on a bed of sickness, from which after such an alarming demon-

stration, it is not surprising that she never recovered.¹

Sir Robert Wilson had also been a popular idol, but had been raised on a more modest pedestal. He had not saved a nation by the most extraordinary combination of military skill and endurance that has been exhibited in ancient or modern times; he had merely been the hero of a popular movement about as sensible as the one of which he was now the victim. He had condescended to direct the manœuvres of the lower orders in London when they had determined that the funeral procession of Queen Caroline should proceed in a direction through the City which the authorities had prohibited. He had subsequently repented of this egregious folly, and had spoken against the folly which had succeeded it. His pedestal was knocked to pieces, and so were his windows.

Under such unpropitious auspices a general election was about to commence. . The preliminary proceedings on the part of the Government were much of the usual character; the most exciting appeals to the people; the most virulent abuse of their political opponents; a more exaggerated version of old exaggerations, and a more gross representation of misrepresented facts, were their most prominent features. It is impossible to do justice to the magnifying powers now applied to small evils; the drop of water that looked clear to common sense,

¹ The Duchess died on the 25th of April.

under the lens of party was shown to be a mass of corruption ; political animalculæ, the existence of which had scarcely been suspected by many close observers, were thrown upon the disc in the shape of "bloated boroughmongers," "a corrupt oligarchy," "a tyrannical aristocracy," and similar monstrous abominations, till the uneducated masses, including many who ought to have known better, accepted the microscopic exhibition as matter of fact, and turned away to the equally delusive promises of the Reform Bill with additional confidence. The population of the great towns were assured that in this political provision, not only "half a loaf was better than no bread," but that it was an instalment that must eventually secure to them the most comfortable portion of the batch, with the prospect of having the oven in their own hands, and what seemed of most importance to many, withholding bread from every one but themselves.

In Ireland, the commotion that ushered in the general election was even more intense than in England. Freedom of speech and action were indulged in to an alarming extent. The Lord Lieutenant's proclamations ceased, and those of the real ruler of the country recommenced. The extent of the violence that prevailed may be understood by the fact, that in one county alone (Clare), before the special commission that had been held there, two hundred and seventy-six persons were charged with outrages of various kinds. Famine was now adding

its terrible lessons to disorder and disaffection ; but though a liberal subscription was immediately entered into in England to afford relief to the suffering, it did not appear to have any sensible effect on the hostility of a certain portion of the Irish population to English rule.

Such was the state of things at home ; nor was the prospect abroad more encouraging. France was unsettled and divided. The "citizen King" was losing ground, and his Ministers were not more popular than their predecessors. In Belgium there was still no Sovereign ; the cities continued to make demonstrations against the House of Orange ; and the Government was still provisional. The war in Poland raged with great animosity ; a revolution had taken place in Brazil ; Don Pedro abdicated in favour of his son, a child of five years, and sailed for London, where he assumed the title of Duke of Braganza.

How the Duke of Wellington thought in this crisis is given under his own hand :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Walmer Castle, May 21, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have received your letter of the 19th from Wotton. It appears true that we are in a bad way. I don't believe that the King of England has taken a step so fatal to his monarchy since the day that Charles I. passed the Act to deprive himself of the power of proroguing or dissolving

the Long Parliament, as King William IV. did on the 22nd of April last.

My mind is travelling in the same direction as yours. We must make a noise in the H. of Lords, I believe ! I don't think that we shall be able to do more, as I understand that the Government are about to create numerous peers. They say as many as thirty or forty ; and I should not be surprised at this or any other act after what I have seen.

The dismay of all reasonable men upon what is going on is beyond description. It is impossible that there should not be a reaction. I am only afraid that it will not be in time or sufficiently strong to influence the decision of the Parliament.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c. K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

The Duke of Wellington did not approve of the dissolution, but the King had no other course to pursue. It would have been extremely rash, whatever his Majesty's private opinions may have been, to have dismissed his Ministers, and recalled their predecessors to his councils. No prudent politician would have suggested such a step ; indeed, the acts of the Government had made it full of risk to the Crown. The King was therefore necessitated to comply with the proposals of his confidential advisers ; and the leaders of the Opposition were left to fight their own battle as well as they could. Their leader, notwithstanding all efforts of intimi-

dation, abated not one jot of his spirit. As if he had either information that encouraged him to continue the stand he had made, or was convinced that there was no safety except in uncompromising opposition, he evidently resolved to fight the battle inch by inch.

The section of his former associates that had abandoned the Duke, were alive to the danger that menaced them. Their sentiments may be understood by the following communication :—

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Palace, 4 o'clock p.m., May 22, 1831.

DEAR DUKE,

In reply to your Grace's note just received, I beg to state, if the party will follow my advice there will be *no division*. According to my views, all we have to do—I mean the Conservative peers—is to show ourselves regularly every evening in our places among them. By showing *when* we can the knavery, selfishness, infamy, and despotism of their plans, we thus prove to the country that we still exist, and will not bow down to King Grey. Dividing can do no good at present. What we are to do on the report and third reading is a question well worth ripely and seriously considering; but we should not now show weakness. I am under the necessity of going for reasons too obvious to your Grace for me to explain. Should anything occur for me to write to you, you may depend on hearing from me. I shall ever be to be found at my post, but think it *better* for *you*, being unwell, to nerve

yourself for another occasion, as I know *you* are STANCH, and I can depend on your support.

Yours most truly,
ERNEST.

The elections proceeded, and as strenuous exertions were made to influence them, it is not surprising that many of the constituencies returned supporters of the Government; while others of a still more liberal tendency returned ostensible supporters, pledged to measures the Government had pronounced against. It was not, however, thought to be a time for dissensions of any kind. As long as the candidate was not in alliance with the Opposition, his extreme views were rarely objected to. Indeed, some of the Whigs expressed themselves in language that the most free-spoken demagogues would have found it difficult to exceed in democratic tendency. In more than one instance, the speaker was a man of aristocratic connexions, who, like the heedless artificer in one of Hogarth's pictures, was thus industriously dividing from him the support on which he rested.

On the 14th of June the Parliament thus returned assembled to make choice of a Speaker, and once more the election fell upon Mr. Manners Sutton. On the following day the Commons had presented their Speaker to the Lord Chancellor, and the royal assent had been given. His Majesty proceeded in state to the House of Lords, and

opened the session on the 21st. The speech from the throne stated that a new election had been had recourse to for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the people on the expediency of a reform in the representation; and it recommended the question to their most attentive consideration, confident that in any measure that might be proposed for its adjustment they would carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured. The usual paragraph respecting the friendly disposition of foreign Powers was followed by a notice of the affairs of Belgium, and of the state of our relations with Portugal. The necessity of a wise and wholesome economy in the estimates, and the probability of a further decrease of taxation, were then adverted to; reference was made to the threatened approach of the cholera, and to the distress and disturbances that had prevailed in Ireland; and though it was stated that there was no necessity for making new laws to strengthen the executive Government, the last paragraph expressed a conviction that Parliament would maintain the peace and order of society by the adoption of whatever measures might be required for that purpose.

The debate on the address in the House of Lords in answer to the King's speech was interrupted by some eccentricities of manner on the part of the

Lord Chancellor, which some of the peers endeavoured to correct. Subsequently Earl Grey ventured to attack the Duke of Cumberland, which elicited from his Royal Highness a protest against the misrepresentations with which he had been assailed. Earl Falmouth complained of another misrepresentation made by the Minister. Many speeches were delivered, principally respecting reform and the conduct of the Government after the dissolution, particularly referring to the illuminations and riots; but the Marquis of Lansdowne spoke of the mischief occasioned by the mob as of very slight importance.

The Marquis of Londonderry then described the damage done to his own house, and asked to whom he was to look for redress. He attacked the Government measure, and denounced the conduct of Ministers as most pernicious to the country. An explanation was attempted by Lord Melbourne, but it only elicited a more thorough exposure from the Earl of Mansfield. The Lord Chancellor next tried his hand at an apology, but with no better success, though with greater ability. After a few more remarks from Lord Farnham, Lord Plunket, and the Earl of Roden, the address was agreed to without a division.

The same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Hunt commenced proceedings by threatening several motions, one being to punish any peer or prelate interfering in elections with a fine of 10,000*l.* and

a year's imprisonment in Newgate. The address in answer to the King's speech produced a moderate speech from Sir Robert Peel, an equally temperate defence from Lord Althorp, a severe attack from Lord Mahon, the customary diatribe from Mr. Hume, and some discursive comments by Mr. Hunt threatening a motion for universal suffrage when the Reform Bill went into committee. Several other speeches were made, but, as in the other House, the address was carried without a division.

The following day, on the report upon the address being brought up, Mr. Hume recommended strict economy to Ministers. Mr. O'Connell brought under the consideration of the House the position of the Poles, and then described the state of Ireland; and Mr. Hunt withdrew the motion he had given notice of the previous day.

It will be seen that in the House of Commons affairs were likely to proceed much in the same course as in last session. Although there were many additions of strength to the Government—persons pledged to vote for “the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill”—the programme of parliamentary performances had been repeated with scarcely any perceptible variation; the announcement “by particular desire” apparently referring, as before, to the principal actors.

In these calm political times it is scarcely possible to imagine the excitement that existed through-

out the summer of the year 1831, or the latitude permitted to a certain class of publications in reviling the monarchy, abusing the aristocracy, and circulating the grossest libels upon distinguished public characters. It is necessary, therefore, to give a sample or two of the sentiments which the Radical reformers in and out of Parliament countenanced, if they did not avow. A cheap periodical, styled *The Poor Man's Guardian*, thus commented on the King and his Government:—

“We maintain that the act of Messrs. Capet, Polignac, &c., which so deservedly lost Charles X. of France his throne, and consigned Polignac, &c., to imprisonment, was not more arbitrary nor atrocious than the present proceedings of Messrs. *Guelph*, Grey, Brougham, Denman, &c. The French tyrants intended to destroy the liberty of the press (which is the very key and safeguard of every other liberty); the English tyrants intend the same. What difference, then, is there between the acts of *Capet*, &c., and this act of *Guelph*, &c.? Why, there is this, and this only difference. The act of *Capet*, &c., was the act of a hero, and the act of *Guelph*, &c., of a dastardly assassin. . . . But *William Guelph* and his minions, although they think they have the right, and also the power, to do as they please with their own people, yet have not courage enough to bite with their own teeth. They have not courage to bite with their own weapons; they will not sully their own bright

sword; but *they will mangle us with the teeth of a diseased bloodhound. They will stab us with the dagger of a dead assassin. Cowardly tyrants!*"

This was the kind of rant spoken and circulated among trades' unions and corresponding societies, and was well known to those who considered themselves exclusively the representatives of the people.

The advice given in the same article was thus expressed:—"Charles Capet and his minions deliberated and ordered, or caused their armed slaves to violate, in endeavouring to suppress their popular papers, not the laws, but the rights and liberties of the whole people of France; and William Guelph and his minions have doubtless deliberated and ordered, or caused the violation, not of the laws, but the rights and liberties of the whole people of England by their present endeavours to destroy penny publications. The people of France resisted the tyrannical attempt, hurled the tyrant from the throne, and caged, as they would tigers, his minions. And are the people of England such sorry slaves that they can only talk and sing of freedom? Will not they, too, resist the laws of these tyrants? Will not they, too, have a glorious revolution? We must resist it; for be the laws binding on you, they are not on us. We have not consented to them. We have always condemned them. We have never authorized, but have ever denied the power of any man, or any set of men, or any William Guelph, or any other Guelph, to control our actions and make

laws for us. We deny such power now, and we will not be bound by their laws."

Such sentiments may have been considered very fine by the writer, but bore a suspicious resemblance to the celebrated declaration that had issued from Tooley-street. The reader, however, will not fail to observe the studied parallel with the late revolutionary movements in France made by the writer; but many persons of his peculiar way of thinking chose to go a little further back in French history to gratify their imitative faculty, and in their correspondence affected the forms and jargon fashionable among Republicans in the Reign of Terror.

Hetherington, the publisher of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, had been summoned before a magistrate for infringing the laws, and condemned to pay a fine. This elicited from a writer in *The Republican, or the Sovereignty of the People*, the following appeal:—

"Fellow-citizens! an honest British citizen for having published untaxed useful[?] knowledge, tending to open the eyes of the bamboozled multitude, has been summoned to Bow-street office, there put on a footing with pickpockets, and has been condemned to pay the penalty mentioned in the Act of Parliament. But *Citizen Hetherington* does not acknowledge the validity of an Act of Parliament under which he has been convicted. It is not binding on him. He has nothing to do with it except to defy it. And why does he defy it? Because he had no representative in the Parliament

in which this villanous ordinance was passed. He considers the damnable knowledge-taxing mandate of the boroughmongering parliamentarians as much binding on the unrepresented people of England, as the contemptible, impotent ordinances of Charles Capet were binding on the people of France. He who approves or enforces them must be *a devilish malignant fiend, and ought to be hunted out of civilized society*. He who submits to them is a contemptible, abject, and cowardly slave, a disgrace to his country, and an enemy to his fellow-citizens. Acting on this incontrovertible principle, he defies the ordinances of self-elected tyrants. He appeals to his fellow-citizens to support him in his honest, public-spirited exertions. His publications were instituted for the sole benefit of the cheated, plundered, and insulted multitude, to whom he appeals for protection against the diabolical machinations of *the villains in power*."

It should here be stated that "Citizen Hetherington" was a publisher of penny political publications, and that he had carried on this trade with considerable profit since the agitation for the Reform Bill had commenced. The more abusive they became, the more democratic they were esteemed; and all persons professing Republicanism supported them. The prosecution would of course put an end to the trade, as well as to the circulation of revolutionary opinions; hence the spirit in which the appeal just quoted was written.

But that no mistake should be made as to the character of these papers, we add a short extract from another, called *The Prompter*, published on the 18th of June, which is a general attack on sovereigns. The writer stated—

“I make no exception. The royal family of England is as great an evil in England as the royal family of Spain is in Spain, of Portugal in Portugal, of France in France, of Prussia in Prussia, of Turkey in Turkey. . . . With the voice of a man, with the spirit of a good man and a citizen struggling to be free, *I cry out to all Europe*, and more particularly to my own countrymen, *down with kings, priests, and lords*. . . . Either in war or in peace, kingcraft, priestcraft, and lordcraft is a *system of murder, plunder, and spoliation*; then down with kings, priests, and lords.”

Such were the sentiments expressed by the acknowledged organs of the working classes, which found an immense circulation in the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland; and such the fruit of a political agitation that had rendered the industrious discontented and the idle bent on mischief. When brought under the observation of the advocates of popular rights, they were either treated with affected ridicule, or were said to emanate, not from the democratic but from the aristocratic section of society, as may be seen by the debate in the House of Commons that took place on Mr. Hunt presenting a petition against taxes on the press.

On the 23rd of June, his Majesty sent the usual answer to the address, and discussions followed in the House of Peers respecting an alleged abuse of patronage in Ireland, the Beer Bill, and the employment of labourers. On the same day, Mr. Hunt brought under the attention of the House of Commons a conflict that had taken place in Ireland between the military and the populace, in which several of the latter had been killed or wounded. It appeared from an account given by Mr. Maxwell, that the yeomanry had been fired upon by a disorderly mob assembled for an unlawful purpose, and that they had been obliged to return the fire in self-defence. Mr. Hunt was again upon his legs shortly afterwards, delivering his sentiments upon universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. Scarcely had he sat down, when he was up and going over the same ground. Alderman Waithman, a rival popular orator, complained of this abuse of the public time, which immediately brought Mr. Hunt on his legs to abuse the alderman.

The following day, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Shrewsbury made a speech on the subject of repeal of the Union. Subsequently, Lord Plunket entered into a defence of a charge that had been brought against him of offering a situation for electioneering services, which he pronounced "a colourless falsehood." A peer interposed, assuring him that no one believed the accusation.

After remarks from Lords Londonderry, Eldon, and Ellenborough, the conversation was allowed to drop ; then came a discussion on tithes. Subsequently, the Earl of Aberdeen gave an exposition of the foreign policy of the Government, and the state of our relations with other Powers ; this forced an explanation from Earl Grey. Then the Duke of Wellington gave a review of circumstances that had recently occurred, and recommended the Government to look at the serious situation in which not only Portugal, but all Europe might be placed, if a proper course were not taken.

The 24th was rendered memorable by Lord John Russell, for the second time, introducing to the House of Commons a Ministerial measure on reform, upon which he spoke at considerable length. After a few remarks from Sir Robert Peel, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Stanley, leave was given to bring in the Bill. Lord Milton next moved for returns of reports on the corn trade, which after a short debate were ordered.

On the 27th there was a discussion in the House of Commons on some recent riots in Scotland, followed by another on the prosecution of Mr. O'Connell, when a member alluded to the discrepancy that existed between the professions the Government made to him last session, and the facts that had transpired since the dissolution. He concluded by asking for the correspondence that had passed between the Government and their legal

advisers. Mr. Stanley refused the papers. Mr. O'Connell promised to second the motion, should one be made, for the correspondence. Sir Charles Wetherell passed severe strictures on the proceedings of Ministers with relation to this case.

Shortly afterwards the House considered the ordnance, navy, army, and other estimates, with some comments from Messrs. Hume and Hunt; but with no opposition. Indeed, the former expressly stated that he intended to let Ministers do as they pleased with the public money till after the Reform Bill was passed, when they might be sure he would scrutinize their proceedings more closely than ever.

On the estimates being proposed for the Irish yeomanry, Mr. O'Connell made a furious attack upon that force, and ended with an amendment for a reduction in the sum required. Mr. Stanley, Lord Althorp, Colonel Percival, and other members defended the Government and the yeomanry. Mr. Hume would not embarrass Ministers by opposition. A member eulogized the conduct of the English yeomanry; and Mr. Hunt considered them useless; having concluded his speech, and two other members having spoken on the subject, he got up to renew his observations, and was with difficulty made to sit down; only, however, to deliver himself of "more last words" a short time afterwards. He subsequently contrived to be heard on two other occasions. The amend-

ment was eventually withdrawn, and the original resolution agreed to.

In a discussion that occurred in the Commons on the 28th, a member directed the attention of the House to the offensive character of the Radical publications. The extracts he read from *The Poor Man's Guardian*, *The Republican*, or *the Sovereignty of the People*, *The Prompter*, were of the most Red Republican stamp, advocating assassination, the annihilation of royalty and aristocracy, and virulently abusing every power in the State. Mr. Hume replied at great length, endeavouring to screen his clients by showing the inutility of prosecutions. Mr. O'Connell spoke to the same purpose.

After a statement of the views of the Government on the subject by the Attorney-General, Sir Robert Peel exposed the arguments of Messrs. Hume and O'Connell. Subsequently Mr. Hunt rose twice, but the impatience of the House was so manifest that he could say but little. A variety of discussions shortly afterwards followed each other, the last being on a motion of Lord Duncannon respecting the Buckingham House Garden Wall Bill going into Committee, when Mr. Hume spoke six times.

On the 29th there was another discussion on the Radical publications, when Mr. Hume again attempted an apology. Sir Charles Wetherell pointed out a marked similarity between the opinions of

Mr. Hume and those expressed in the libellous periodicals. Mr. O'Connell came to the rescue of his colleague, and Mr. Hunt once more referred to the increase in the sale of such publications in consequence of the publicity given to their existence by the attention Parliament had bestowed upon them. Subsequently Mr. Bennett directed the attention of the House to the notorious corruption that had distinguished the late election for Liverpool; but on proposing a motion on the subject, the House was counted, and less than forty members were found to have retained their places.

On the following day, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry, on presenting a petition against reform from Durham, dwelt on opinions lately expressed at a public meeting in that county, then read extracts from a pamphlet called "Friendly Advice most respectfully submitted to the Lords on the Reform Bill," and declared his intention to maintain to the last hour of his existence the privileges and independence of the House.

In the Commons, after a debate on the Beer Trade, Mr. Alderman Wood brought forward a motion for the reduction of public salaries, which Mr. Hunt seconded. Lord Althorp having opposed the motion, Mr. Hunt again rose, and accused the Government of having two sets of opinions, in and out of office. He delivered himself of a long speech. Colonel Sibthorp made some observations. Mr. Hunt explained. Mr. Hume defended Ministers,

and wondered at the bold misrepresentations that had been made. Mr. Hunt explained again. Mr. O'Connell also opposed the motion. Several other members addressed the House. But on the division there were only thirteen voted for the motion, and two hundred and sixteen against it.

A discussion followed respecting a general register of deeds, after which came a warm debate on the affray at Newtonbarry. Mr. Stanley subsequently introduced the Irish Reform Bill, and brought forward a motion respecting public works in Ireland.

Mr. Hunt, early as it was in the session, had already made several extraordinary exhibitions of himself, but the following scene, which occurred in the House of Commons on the 1st of July, so well portrays the singular manner in which that member fulfilled his parliamentary duties, that we cannot help quoting it as a fair specimen of the intelligence and taste of a popular representative.

Mr. Hunt presented a petition from the inhabitants of Stockport, objecting to the Reform Bill, as not going far enough. The hon. member read the whole of the petition, which was couched in violent and abusive language, directed principally against the Church.

During the reading of this petition the House exhibited marks of strong disgust and impatience, which, however, were repressed by the Speaker; but as soon as the orator had concluded,

The Speaker said, "What does the hon. member propose to do with that petition?"

Mr. Hunt.—"To bring it up."

The Speaker.—"The hon. member has been a member of this House long enough to have enabled him to learn that the first duty of a member of the House of Commons, to whom petitions are entrusted, is to make himself acquainted with the contents of such petitions; and having seen that the petitions are respectfully and decently worded, then to exercise his discretion on the subject matter of the petition. Now the wording of this petition is neither respectful, nor even decent, and I cannot but feel persuaded that if the hon. member had ever read it before, he would not have presented it to the House."

Mr. W. Peel hoped the House would not receive a petition couched in such gross language, and containing such offensive attacks. Mr. O'Connell intimated the extreme improbability of the petitioners' having an intention of insulting the House. The Speaker replied that the hon. and learned member must see that when gross and offensive language is selected by petitioners, the fair presumption is, that they do not mean to treat the House with any very great respect. Mr. Hunt professed to have read the whole of the petition except the passage complained of, and finding the sense of the House against its being received, he said he was willing to withdraw it. He immediately produced

another petition, suggesting the probability of there being something wrong in it. The Speaker repeated his previous observations respecting the duty of members. Mr. Hunt offered to wait and read it over, but more than one member spoke against his proceeding, and though he strove to excuse himself, the Speaker admonished him, and the scene ended.¹ Mr. Hunt did not profit much by it, for in a subsequent debate on the repeal of the Union, he repeated his familiar account of the Manchester riot till he was coughed down.

Sir H. Hardinge having inquired from Mr. Hume whether he was prepared to substantiate an assertion made by him in a previous debate, that an offensive passage quoted from the republican press had emanated from the party opposed to the Government, Mr. Hume entered into an extraordinary statement, and quoted a letter he had received that morning, addressed to *Citizen Hume*, in which the writer acknowledged himself the author of the atrocious passages alluded to, and treated the statement that he had anything to do with either Whigs or Tories as an absurd error; nevertheless, Mr. Hume expressed himself quite satisfied that he was in the service of the Opposition.

Sir H. Hardinge stated that the House must agree with him that a more impotent explanation had never been attempted. He appealed to Mr. Hume's "candour and manliness;" but, as might

¹ "Hansard." Third Series, iv. 578.

have been anticipated, without the slightest success. The extravagant assertion of Mr. Hume was repeated more recklessly. Sir Robert Peel said that any man of common honesty or common sense would resort to such an infamous proceeding, it was impossible to believe; and that the accusation contradicted while it refuted itself.

It should be borne in mind that this was not the first time that Mr. Hume had distinguished himself by bringing forward reckless charges. In the preceding Government he had accused the Duke of Wellington of having caused the conflagrations of agricultural produce and destruction of machinery that had occurred in several English counties. He had not the slightest grounds for either charge, and the alleged communication to "Citizen Hume" had probably the same foundation.

The House then went into Committee, and considered the coal, barilla, and raw-cotton duties, and afterwards the miscellaneous estimates. Mr. Hume indulged himself in some offensive remarks against the inmates of Hampton Court Palace; and Mr. Hunt said that Lord Grey had entered into a coalition with the members of his family, at an annual expense to the country of 68,000*l*. Lord Althorp denounced the coalition as an absurdity. Lord Howick expressed his opinion that the accusation ought to have been treated with silent and utter contempt. Subsequently the Lord Advocate brought in the Scottish Reform Bill.

On the 4th of July the Duke of Wellington inquired whether his Majesty had given any instructions respecting the customary ceremony of a coronation. Earl Grey having replied that he had received no commands, the Duke asked if his Majesty had taken certain oaths which were required by law within a certain time after his accession. Earl Grey then acknowledged that a coronation was necessary, and that the oaths must be taken, but stated that there were reasons existing at present for a postponement of the ceremony. Discussions followed on the Beer Bill and on lieutenants of counties.

After a skirmish between Messrs. Hunt and O'Connell on the repeal of the Union, Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill. Sir John B. Walsh proposed as an amendment that the Bill be read that day six months. It was seconded by Mr. Fynes Clinton. Sir James Mackintosh made a long and able speech in support of the Government measure. Mr. Cumming Bruce, Mr. Cutler Ferguson, Lord Porchester, and Mr. Gally Knight having also addressed the House, the debate was adjourned. It was resumed on the following day, when among the distinguished speakers were Mr. E. Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Macaulay, Lord Althorp, and Sir George Murray. The debate was again adjourned.

On the 6th of July, on Mr. Denison moving for

a new writ for Liverpool, a member moved that the entry on the Journals of the resolutions of the 29th of March for deferring its issue should be read; his object being that no writ should be issued until a motion announced by Mr. Bennett had been disposed of. Subsequently there was the third day's debate on the Reform Bill; the most powerful displays of oratory were those of Sir Charles Wetherell and Sir Robert Peel. After a reply from Lord John Russell the House divided, when the numbers were—For the second reading, 367; against it, 231. Ministers therefore had a clear majority of 136. This appeared to be overwhelming and conclusive as regarded the fate of the Bill in the Commons, and its supporters became confident of success.

In the House of Lords discussions of little public interest at this time continued. On one which arose out of a motion of Lord Melbourne, that the House resolve itself into a Committee on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Bill, the Duke of Wellington offered some suggestions, and Earl Grey explained that it was not the intention of the Government to abolish the office of Lord Lieutenant. In the House of Commons a discussion occurred on reform petitions, and Mr. Hunt distinguished himself as usual. When Mr. Evelyn Denison moved for the issue of the Liverpool writ, a member inquired of Mr. Bennett whether he proposed to proceed with the motion of which he had previously given notice. Mr.

Bennett expressed himself disinclined. Sir C. Clerk moved an amendment to adjourn the debate, and the debate proceeded to a division, when the numbers were—For the amendment, 117; against it, 99. The House next went into a Committee of Supply. Several grants were objected to by Mr. Hume; they passed, notwithstanding.

On the 11th of July, a debate in the House of Commons ensued on a member presenting a petition from the borough of Northampton, complaining that the barracks were occupied by the voters of one party during the late election, to the exclusion of the troops quartered there, who, had their services been required to quell a disturbance, must have been much inconvenienced by having been deprived of their quarters. On his inquiring what proceedings had taken place in consequence of such illegal conduct, Mr. Spring Rice stated that he was not aware of the circumstance. Sir Thomas Fremantle testified to the fact, and to the scene of confusion it produced. Sir H. Hardinge reflected on the conduct of the officer in command, as well as on the Government. Mr. Vernon Smith, one of the Government members, denied that any influence had been exercised on the voters. Mr. Charles Ross, however, proved that the statement was true in all its particulars.

After a few words from Colonel Evans and Mr. O'Connell to screen the Government, the member said that there was an evident intention on the

part of the Government to interfere in the late Northampton election, and for this reason he was not satisfied with the answer he had received. He should therefore take what steps he thought proper. Mr. Hunt offered to move that the barrack-master be called to the bar, but his proposition was not accepted.

There were subsequent discussions on the Waterloo Bridge New Street Bill—when both Messrs. Hume and Hunt objected that the new street would be of no benefit—the Customs Acts, the Castle Pollard affray, and the case of Sir A. B. King, who held the patent of King's stationer in Ireland.

The following day, in the House of Lords, on bringing up the report on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Bill, the Marquis of Londonderry entered into an explanation respecting some remarks on the subject he had previously made that had been misunderstood, and the comments it had produced. Lord Plunket replied; and after some observations by Lord Farnham and Lord Melbourne, the clauses of the Bill were read, agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be printed.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, there was a discussion on tithes in Ireland, when Mr. O'Connell, after denying that there was any combination in that country against their payment, acknowledged that there was so effectual a one that it prevented the sale of distrained cattle. A message was received from the King recommending

to the consideration of the House "the making of such a provision as may be adequate to the maintenance of her Majesty's royal dignity in case she should survive his Majesty."

Lord Althorp proposed "that a provision be made for the Queen, in case she should survive his Majesty, of 100,000*l.* per annum during her life to support her royal dignity, together with a suitable town residence, and the house and lands at Bushy Park; and that the said sum be issued and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Sir Robert Inglis suggested an outfit; no other member spoke on the subject, and the resolution was agreed to *nemine contradicente*.

The Parliamentary Reform Bill went into Committee. After a motion had been negatived by a majority of 97 to hear counsel at the bar for the condemned boroughs, another motion for an adjournment of the debate was negatived by a majority of 226; a similar motion was decided by a majority of 196. An amendment, proposed by Sir Charles Wetherell, was then disposed of by a majority of 172; another motion for adjournment was decided by a majority of 170. Lord Stormont again moved an adjournment, which produced a majority of 166; a subsequent motion to the same effect was disposed of by a majority of 162; and another, that produced one of 163. Finally, the House adjourned at nearly eight in the morning.

On the 13th of July, in the Lords, Lord Farnham brought the Newtownbarry affray before the House, and exposed the misrepresentations that had been made respecting it, while he proved the general conspiracy that existed in Ireland to elude the payment of taxes and set the Government at defiance. He ended by moving for a copy of the evidence taken before the gentlemen sent by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into the affair, as well as the reports of the chief constable of police and of the Inspector-General. Lord Melbourne opposed the motion on the ground that the papers required were of a confidential nature, and as the transaction was still under investigation it would be most impolitic to produce such documents. Lord Farnham acquiesced, and withdrew his motion.

After some minor matters had been disposed of, the House of Commons renewed the debate in Committee on the Reform Bill, the preamble coming on for consideration subsequently to a discussion relating to delegates from Trades Unions and Political Unions. Mr. C. W. Wynn proposed the postponement of Schedule A. Sir Edward Sugden attacked it in a powerful speech, and supported the amendment. Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, and other members addressed the House on the subject, but on a division there was a majority for Ministers of 118.

In the course of the third day's debate on the

Bill going into Committee, Sir Edward Sugden, Sir Charles Wetherell, and Sir Robert Peel, renewed their objections, and were replied to by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell. Mr. Hunt, in the course of the evening, made a furious attack upon the press. On a division the Government had a majority of 97.

On the 15th, in the Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry directed the attention of the House to the negotiations that had for some time been carried on between this country and Belgium, and asked for information. Earl Grey, in reply, stated that whenever his Majesty's Ministers thought it would be convenient and safe, with a view to the public interests, to communicate the information required, it would be given.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after another Irish discussion, followed the fourth day's debate on the Reform Bill in Committee; the first clause was considered, and an amendment proposed by Sir Andrew Agnew, which produced an animated discussion, but no division.

On the 18th there was a debate in the House of Lords on the Tithe Commutation Bill, in which the Lord Chancellor explained the right of the Church to tithes. The Bill was read a second time. Earl Grey then referred to the fact of Prince Leopold being called to the throne of Belgium, and to communications received by him from his Royal Highness on the subject of the income settled on

him by Parliament at his marriage with the Princess Charlotte. A letter from the Prince, bearing the date July 15th, was then read, which it is but justice to his Royal Highness to give here *in extenso*.

THE KING OF BELGIUM TO EARL GREY.

Marlborough House.

MY DEAR LORD GREY,

Before I quit the country, I am desirous to state in writing the intentions and views which I had the pleasure of communicating to you verbally this morning, on the subject of my British annuity.

As Sovereign of Belgium, it is not my intention to draw from this country any portion of the income which was settled upon me by Act of Parliament at the period of my marriage. Your lordship is, however, well aware that up to the very moment of my leaving England I have maintained my establishments here upon their accustomed footing, and that, consequently, there remain to be fulfilled and discharged pecuniary engagements and outstanding debts, to an amount which it is quite impossible for me to state at the present time with precision. As soon, therefore, as I shall have accomplished the payment of these demands, it is my intention to make over into the hands of trustees, whom I will without loss of time appoint, the whole of the annuity which I receive from this country as trust for the following purposes:—

I shall require my trustees to maintain in a state of complete habitation and of repair the house, gardens, and park at Claremont; and further, to pay all the salaries, pensions, and allowances which I shall deem a proper

reward to those persons who have claims upon me for their faithful services during my residence in this country. I shall, in addition, require them to continue all those charities and annual donations to charitable institutions which have been allowed or subscribed to either by the Princess Charlotte or by myself up to the present period.

All these objects having been fulfilled, it is my wish and desire that the remainder shall be repaid into the British Exchequer.

I remain, my dear Lord Grey,

Most faithfully yours,

LEOPOLD.

The Prince also resigned his colonelcy of the 5th Regiment of Dragoons.

The Duke of Wellington congratulated the House and the country on the course which his Royal Highness had adopted, and said that this conduct would show to the people whom the Prince was about to govern that their Sovereign was above even the suspicion of dependence on a foreign country.

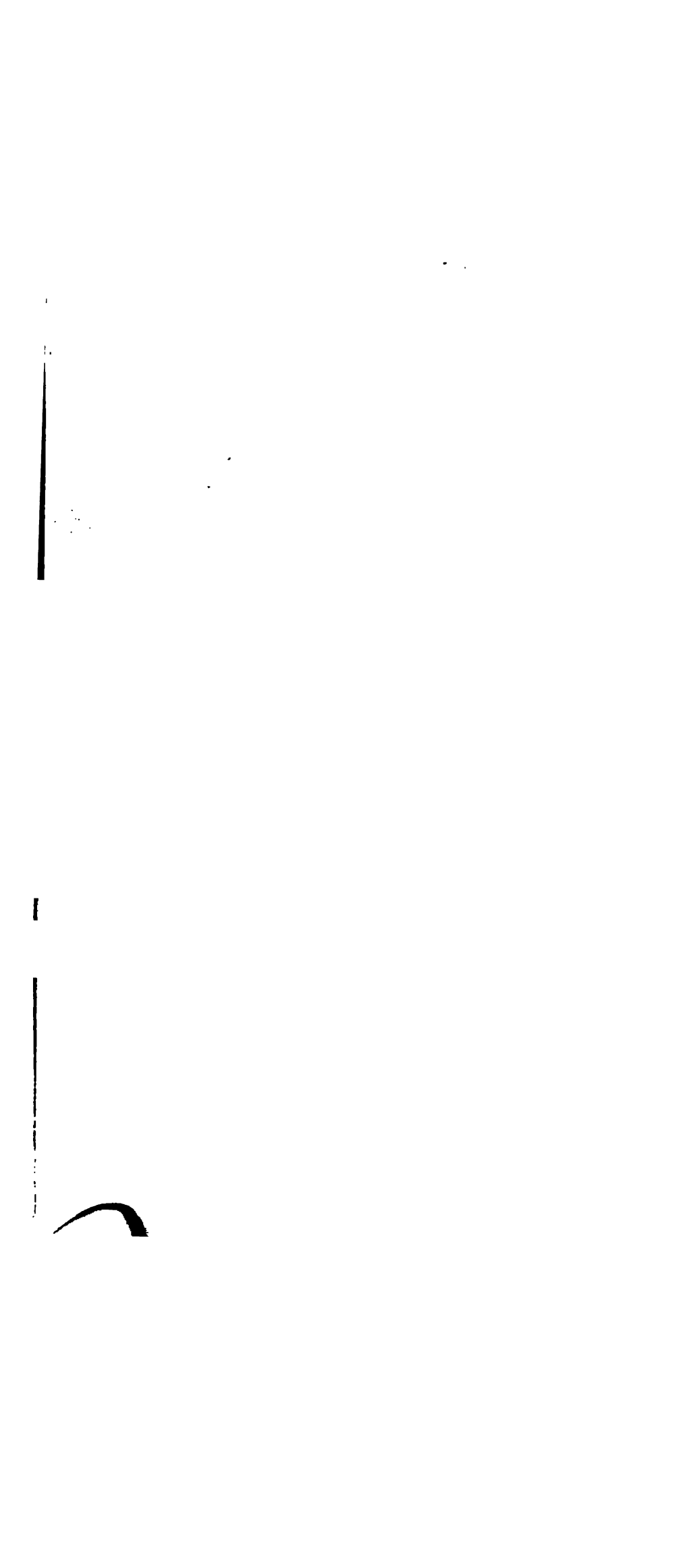
Among the discussions that took place in the House of Commons on the same day, there was a short one on the probable expense of the coronation, when Lord Althorp stated that the subject was under the consideration of the Government. Prince Leopold's surrender of his annuity was brought under the attention of the House, when Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, Sir George War-

render, and Mr. George Robinson, warmly expressed their satisfaction. Mr. O'Connell next made another attack on the Irish yeomanry, after which the miscellaneous estimates were considered, when an attempt was made to diminish the pensions, but on a division Ministers were in a majority of 101. Several other proposed grants were agreed to without opposition.

CHAPTER XIII.

[1831.]

PARTIES IN FRANCE—THE NEW KING OF THE BELGIANS—MR. LONG WELLESLEY COMMITTED TO PRISON BY THE LORD CHANCELLOR—PROSECUTIONS AGAINST SEDITIOUS PUBLICATIONS—IDEAS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON RESPECTING THE CORONATION, AND RUMOURED CREATION OF PEERS—OPINIONS OF THE DUKE ON LOUIS PHILIPPE AND WILLIAM IV.—DEBATES ON THE DEMOLITION OF THE BELGIAN FORTRESSES—VISIT OF THE KING AND QUEEN TO VIEW NEW LONDON BRIDGE—INCREASED ALLOWANCE TO THE PRINCESS VICTORIA—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON REFORM OPINIONS—INVASION OF BELGIUM BY THE DUTCH.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE state of affairs in France continued to show an increase in the King's unpopularity. Three parties now began to make themselves seen and heard—the supporters of a constitutional monarchy, who were favourable to peace; the Red Republicans, who were violent for war; and the Carlists, or friends of the exiled Bourbons. Their intrigues kept society in a constant state of ferment, particularly in Paris, where a serious disturbance took place in the middle of June, that continued two days, and was only terminated by an overwhelming array of military and police. As a sign of the times a tree of liberty was planted at Beauclaire, in the south of France, and on the troops being called to remove it, they fraternized with the people, and afterwards abandoned the service. Similar commotions took place in the important manufacturing city of Lyons.

The "citizen King," who had, shortly after he had been invested with royalty, been in the habit of burlesquing Haroun Alraschid, to the astonishment of the people of Paris, by appearing every-

where as a private person, with a cotton umbrella under his arm, was now content to have the protection of the customary attendants in his promenades, and evidently preferred more state, as well as increased security. There could be no question, however, that the French people began to have misgivings as to the wisdom of their choice, and, like the frogs in the classic fable, were doubtful that King Stork was an improvement on King Log.

The people of Belgium had at last, as we have intimated, come to a determination respecting the form of Government best adapted for their country; and in a National Congress held on the 4th of June elected as their King by a majority of 152 to 15, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg—the second crown that had been proffered him. Wisely had he declined the sovereignty of Greece, and as sagaciously did he accept that of Belgium. The long period of increasing prosperity which followed this acceptance has proved the wisdom both of the Congress in selecting such a Prince for their ruler, and of the Prince in agreeing to govern such a country.

The new King of the Belgians left London on the morning of the 16th of July, accompanied by the deputation that had been sent to offer him the crown, and having entered his dominions on the Monday following, was welcomed with a most enthusiastic reception from all classes of his subjects. He proceeded to the palace at Brussels, having signed the Constitution in sight of the people, amid

the most joyful acclamations of the inhabitants; and the city was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the event.

The campaign of the Russians in Poland, though at first it commenced unfavourably, was now drawing to a close, despite of the most heroic resistance to the armies of the empire on the part of the Poles.

In the House of Lords, on the 19th of July, the Lord Chancellor brought forward a Bill for the abolition of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, which was read a first time. A few days before his lordship had nearly come into collision with the House of Commons by committing one of its members—Mr. Long Wellesley—to prison for a contempt of court, he having taken away his youngest daughter from her appointed guardian. The Lord Chancellor wrote a letter to the Speaker informing him of Mr. Wellesley's arrest; and to an application of the Serjeant-at-Arms to surrender him as a member of the House, he gave a decided refusal. A few days afterwards Mr. Wellesley restored his daughter, submitted to the court, and was discharged out of custody.

Several prosecutions were instituted against seditious publications. The Rev. Robert Taylor, a clergyman formerly of the Church of England, who had written several deistical works, and been in the habit of lecturing on religion at a place known as the Rotunda in the Blackfriars-road, was, on the

4th of July, convicted of blasphemy, after a trial that lasted twelve hours, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 200*l*. Three days later, Mr. Cobbett was tried for a libel tending to excite the peasantry to acts of destruction, but escaped punishment because the jury could not agree in their verdict.

From the 19th to the 22nd, the Reform Bill dragged its slow length along in Committee. There were several divisions, but all largely in favour of the Government. There was another subject that excited considerable interest. This was the approaching coronation of the King and Queen. No valid excuse existed for its delay, but hitherto the Government appeared as if scrupulous of exciting the prejudices of their democratic supporters by so imposing a demonstration of royalty. In other quarters there existed a desire to have so necessary a ceremony proceeded with. The Duke of Wellington had made inquiries on the subject in the House of Lords, and the Duke of Buckingham had applied to his Grace for information. The rumour of a creation of peers to carry the Reform Bill had already been set in motion, as may be seen from the following communication :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, July 22, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was out of London yesterday and the day before; and could not answer your letter.

We hear every day of peers to be created; and I confess that I concur with you in thinking that Lord Grey will stick at nothing. There can scarcely be a question about the King, considering what his Majesty has done by *dissolution*.

I asked the question about the coronation, because I really thought that it was not fit that the second summer should be allowed to elapse without this ceremony, without any cause whatever for the delay: considering the nature of the obligations imposed upon the King by the oath, and considering that H.M. had crowned himself on the 22nd of April, the day of the dissolution of Parliament.

The coronation will afford a pretence for creating some peers. But it is a pretence only. They will be created for the purpose of the destruction of the monarchy.

In respect to the ceremony, I don't see how it is possible for any persons to drive the Government, and force the Government to incur an expense which they say they do not think necessary, and which ought not to be incurred. In my opinion we cannot meddle with the ceremony. All that we have a right to expect is that the King shall be crowned in the usual manner before his people.

In respect to attendance, I have to observe that the peers each of them take a very important oath in the ceremonial in the church. In conversation with the

King, I urged the importance to him of this oath ; and I would not absent myself. I don't think that you would like to be absent either.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham
and Chandos, K.G.

On the 23rd of July the King of France opened the Chambers with a speech that had a startling effect on some of his subjects. He was no longer the gentle "citizen King" of the unpretending promenades about Paris ; he spoke loudly and boldly, particularly of his intention to punish the machinations of conspirators, whether Republican or Carlist. He also entered at considerable length, and with much confidence, upon the state of the relations of France with foreign countries. To his Majesty's statements respecting Belgium one well qualified to pronounce an opinion—as will presently be seen—gave an emphatic contradiction. An appearance of popular enthusiasm was got up for the occasion ; some demonstration of the kind was considered necessary, the Parisians having begun to plant trees of Liberty, and to evince other indications of their impatience of the existing order of things.

The following communication is remarkable for the picture it affords of the mind of William IV., before the dissolution and after it. The Duke's view of the existing state of affairs is given with his usual precision and determination :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, July 28, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

If you will look at the case of the fortresses, you will see that King Louis Philippe has *lied*! That which has been done has been for four of the Powers interested in them to agree that they will hereafter enter into negotiations with the King of the Belgians for the destruction of some of them.

It does not appear, therefore, that the H. of Lords can at present push the matter farther than it is.

You may rely upon it that there is nobody more anxious than I am to extricate the country from its present difficulties. But I must take care that in the choice of the efforts to be made for that purpose I don't augment their number and their intensity rather than obtain any relief. The King has brought upon himself the existing state of things by the dissolution of Parliament. He says that nobody is disposed to make an effort to extricate him.

Did he listen to the advice given to him not to dissolve his Parliament? Did he believe those who told him that the circumstances which had broken up the former Government no longer existed on the 21st of April? Did he then make an effort, or manifest a wish to make an effort, to extricate himself?

How do we stand now? The King and his Ministers, and a settled majority of the House of Commons, allied with the mob, the Radicals, the Dissenters of all persuasions, against the gentlemen of property of the country, the Church, and all the establishments, religious, commercial, banking, political, &c. &c. Then in respect to the

business in Parliament: we are, in the end of July, in about the situation of business in which the Government generally stands about the 25th of March. The Mutiny Bills are passed; but the greater part of the estimates remain to be voted and the business of the Government to be done. If the King, who says that nobody will extricate him, was to quarrel with Lord Grey to-morrow about coronation robes or any other such material point in discussion, and to wish to change his Ministry, the monarchy might be overturned.

I feel that we have done a great deal to open the eyes of the country. We may and we shall do more. But we must proceed with caution and circumspection; and be prepared, and prepare the public mind, for events which must occur, rather than prematurely create them.

I cannot advise you to come to town. Indeed, I would go out of town myself if I was not afraid that my absence might lead to a belief that I gave up the question of reform as lost.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

On the 25th of July the Earl of Aberdeen, in the House of Lords, referred to the speech of the King of the French to the Chambers, and requested to know by what convention the Belgic fortresses were to be demolished, and to what extent the British Government had become a party to this determination. He expressed his regret at the inactivity or impolicy of Ministers in allowing French influence

to prevail in Holland and Portugal. Earl Grey, after promising to defend his policy at a proper time, read a protocol, dated April 17th, signed by Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, declaring the fortresses on the Belgian frontier too numerous for the resources of the new kingdom, without affording a security for its independence.


The Duke of Wellington stated that the fortresses belonged to the five great Powers, including Holland, acting in conjunction with England—that France had nothing to do with them, having contributed nothing to their construction, and was the last Power that ought to have required or have sanctioned their demolition. A similar debate came on in the House of Commons on the 27th; afterwards the Reform Bill proceeded from clause to clause, with long discussions and frequent divisions, till Schedules B and C had been considered.

On the 1st of August, being the anniversary of the accession of the house of Hanover to the throne of these realms, the King and Queen went by water from Somerset House with their retinues, in thirty state barges, to witness the opening of the new London Bridge. The Lord Mayor and Corporation made extraordinary efforts to entertain their Majesties. On the bridge they provided a military band, a company of German minstrels, a celebrated whistler, and an equally distinguished performer on his chin, with Mr. Green to ascend in his balloon. Their Majesties were of course delighted—certainly

with the structure they had come to inspect. The King ascended the long flight of steps from the water without any appearance of fatigue, and acknowledged the hearty greeting with which he was received by his subjects with much gratification. "Citizen Hetherington's" friends appear to have gone out of town; for every one of the countless multitude of both sexes present showed a lively appreciation of the presence of royalty.

The Lord Mayor (Key) offered the King the keys of the City and the Sword of State, but they were permitted to remain with their ordinary custodians. The royal party then proceeded to a magnificent pavilion that had been erected for their accommodation. Their Majesties witnessed the ascent of "the intrepid aeronaut," as he was usually styled; then inspected different portions of the bridge, attended by loud demonstrations from their loyal subjects. On returning to the pavilion they shared in a magnificent banquet provided by the Corporation.

On the right of the King were seated the Duchesses of Gloucester, Cambridge, and Saxe Weimar, the Duke of Sussex and Prince George of Cumberland; on the left of the Queen the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and Prince George of Cambridge. There were also present—Prince William of Saxe Weimar, Princess Augusta of Cambridge, Lord and Lady Frederick, Lords Adolphus and Augustus Fitzclarence, Lady Mary Fox, Lady Sophia Lennox, the Marchioness of Wellesley



and Westmeath, Lady Clinton; with the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, the Earl Marshal, the Groom of the Stole, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Gold Stick, the Treasurer of the Household, and all the officers and ladies of the royal household—in short, there was such a display of regality as had not been attempted in the City of London for a considerable period.

The Lord Mayor was permitted to propose the King's health, and Sir Claudius Hunter the Queen's. His Majesty then, out of a gold cup, drank to the Trade and Commerce of the City of London, after which all the royal family partook of "the loving cup." Finally, his Majesty proposed the health of the Lord and Lady Mayoress, when the company returned to their barges; and the procession being increased by the state barges of the Lord Mayor and City companies, all provided with bands, returned to Somerset House with additional picturesque effect. It was very long since the Thames had presented so grand a spectacle, and it appeared to give quite as much satisfaction to the people as to the Court. As a proof of the satisfaction of the King, the Lord Mayor was created a baronet on the following day.

On the same day the King and Queen entered the House of Peers, when his Majesty gave his assent to the Queen's Dower Bill; after which her Majesty rose and curtsied three times to the gentle-

men below the bar, members of the House of Commons.

On the 3rd of August, a message having been received from the King recommending an increased allowance to the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria, Earl Grey in the House of Peers moved an address respecting the importance of making a further provision for the education, maintenance, and support of the honour and dignity of the Princess as presumptive heiress to the crown, which was agreed to. In the House of Commons Lord Althorp proposed an additional income of 10,000*l.* a year for her Royal Highness's maintenance and education, which was also agreed to.

Schedules D to G of the Reform Bill passed through the Committee after several contests. On the 18th a member moved an amendment on the sixteenth clause, giving every person farming and occupying land for which he had paid a rent of 50*l.* for one year, the right of voting for the county; when the Ministers on a division were in a considerable minority. This was a great blow, and it began to be supposed that a reaction of opinion was commencing.

The Duke of Wellington came forward very little at this time in politics—rarely in the House of Peers except to censure the policy of Ministers with respect to Belgium. His reasons for this apparent inaction are thus stated by himself:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, August 15, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

My mind travels much in the same course as yours in respect to the treatment of the Reform Bill. I do not say much upon the subject, even in private, to the many who come to talk to me upon it; and I have avoided to call a meeting of the opponents of the measure. The reason is, that I think that the anti-reform opinions are gaining ground every day; and that a meeting in a fortnight or three weeks' time will be much more manageable than one which I might call together at present.

As far as I can learn, our majority increases rather than otherwise. I have no doubt that the Ministers would create a hundred peers if necessary to carry their measure; and I am not certain that our royal master would not lend his aid to this act. But I understand that some of their best friends object. One has been mentioned to me—Lord Radnor! I understand likewise that Lord Tavistock and Lord Lichfield have declined to be called up to the House of Lords for this purpose. If this is true, the coronation will occasion the creation of a few peers; but nothing to affect the division on the Bill.

These circumstances increase my anxiety to keep the House of Lords as quiet as possible till the Bill comes up. It would be unfortunate if the House itself was by its own acts to afford a pretence for the destruction of its independence and utility.

In respect to Ireland, we ought to govern that country instead of allowing it to be torn to pieces, as it is by agitators, priests, and demagogues. I passed the R. C. Relief Bill purposely to induce Parliament to give the

Government the power of establishing there something like a social system; and we should have proceeded probably to set right all the wrong which still prevails there. But we were extinguished; and the present Ministers govern by means of the very men whose power must be destroyed before any good can be done.

It would be impossible, in my opinion, to put down the Irish Yeomanry in the existing state of the country. But that body ought to be regulated, and attended to; and, above all, well and kindly treated; otherwise no regulation that can be made for its government could be carried into execution.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

Scarcely had King Leopold taken possession of his dominions when he was threatened with their loss. The Dutch under General Chassé, by order of the King of Holland, invaded the country in great force on the 4th of August. The King of the Belgians, first sending to the British and French Governments notice of this recommencement of hostilities, took the command of his army, and proceeded to Antwerp; but General Chassé spiked the Belgian cannon, while Dutch vessels sailed up the Scheldt and captured Belgian merchantmen.

The Prince of Orange assumed the chief command of the Dutch army, which entered Belgium at five points; and on the 5th, so spiritless was the

defence of the Belgians, that the Prince, with 40,000 men, had advanced to within fifteen miles of Brussels. In short, although their King did everything that could be required of him, the army of Belgium everywhere exhibited a deplorable want of spirit. The Dutch were allowed to enter Liege and Louvain almost without resistance, and would have regained possession of the country, with very little difficulty, had not a French army of 50,000 men marched to Mons, while an English fleet made a demonstration in another direction. These movements and the remonstrances of the mediating Powers induced the King of Holland to retrace his steps; and on the 15th the King of the Belgians returned to his capital apparently extremely dissatisfied with his subjects.

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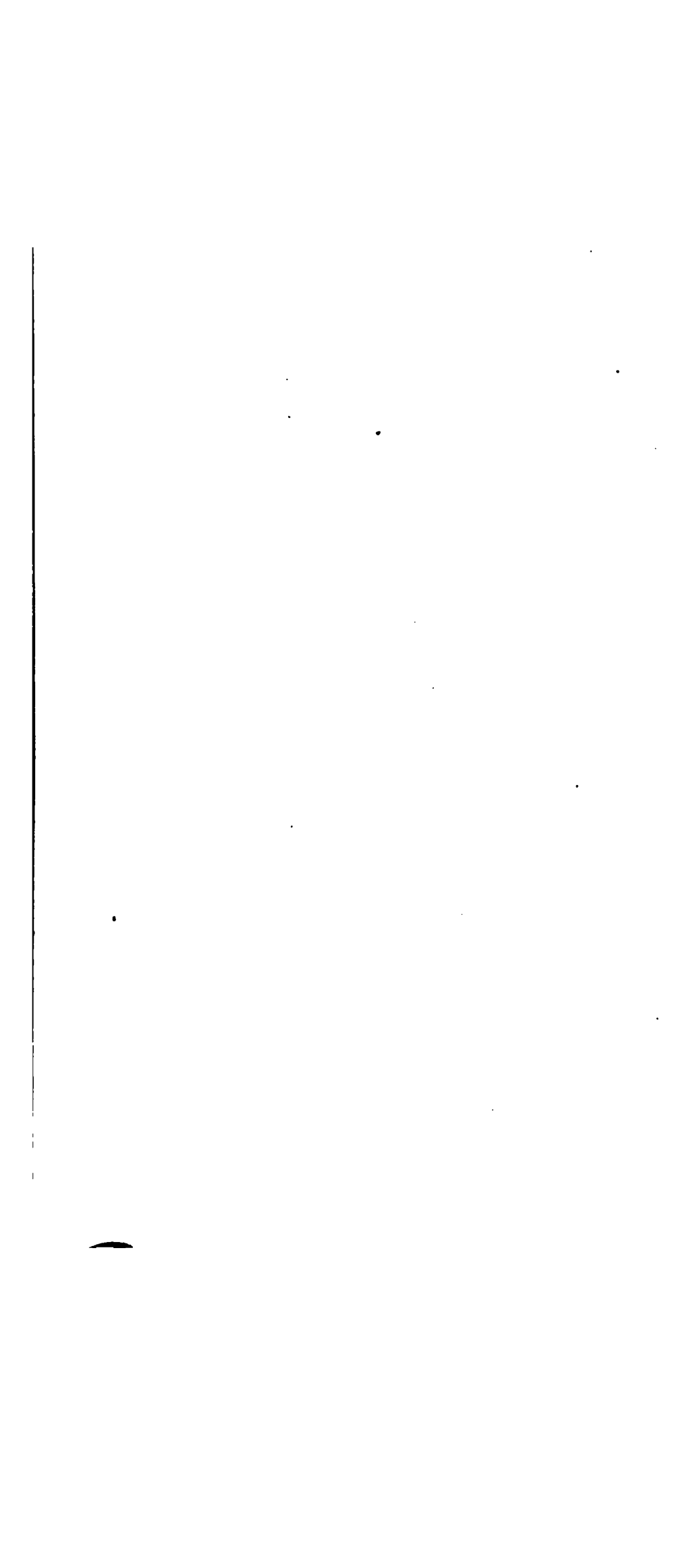
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CHAPTER XIV.

[1831.]

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CORONATION—ORDER OF THE PROCESSION
THROUGH THE STREETS—ARRANGEMENTS IN THE ABBEY—THE
ROYAL HOUSEHOLD AND MINISTERS OF STATE—BEARERS OF THE
REGALIA—THE KING AND QUEEN—THE CEREMONY—PUBLIC RE-
JOICINGS—CREATION OF PEERS—THE REFORM BILL CARRIED IN
THE COMMONS—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE STATE OF
PARTIES—DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE REFORM
BILL—LARGE MAJORITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT—VIOLENCE OF
THE MOB—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT—RIOTS—INCENDIARY
FIRES—SEDITIONOUS PROCLAMATIONS—COMMOTIONS IN FRANCE—THE
GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL UNIONS—THE NEW REFORM
BILL.



CHAPTER XIV.

PREPARATIONS were now being actively made for the coronation of their Majesties, which important ceremonial was announced for the 8th of September ; and extensive alterations were made in the ancient Abbey to accommodate the vast assemblage it must then contain. On the morning of the appointed day, numerous labourers in scarlet jackets and white trousers were actively employed in completing the arrangements. About forty private gentlemen acted as pages of the Earl Marshal, attired in a costume, devised for the occasion, of blue frock coats, white breeches and stockings, a crimson silk sash, and a small ill-shaped hat with a black ostrich feather. This dress excited some criticism, but as it had been produced at the expense of the wearers, no very grave objection could be made to it. Each of these pages was provided with a gilt staff, bearing the arms of the Earl Marshal, and his duty was to conduct persons provided with tickets to their proper seats. The heralds also were in attendance to marshal the procession.

Shortly after five o'clock in the morning a royal salute was fired by artillery stationed in the Green


Park, which was taken as a signal for every one interested in the proceedings of the day to be on the move. Company soon began to arrive at the ancient minster, the different doors of which were appropriated to different classes of visitors. At six the household troops arrived in St. James's Park, and were distributed along the thoroughfares through which the procession was to pass. The members of the House of Commons—three-fourths of whom were in military uniform, and a few in Highland costumes—took their accustomed route by Parliament-street; but having arrived at the door of Westminster Hall, found a covered platform raised for their accommodation across to Poet's Corner.

The equipages produced for the occasion added greatly to the splendour of the preliminary portion of the pageant—the Lord Chancellor rivalling the Lord Mayor in this display—and the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Esterhazy, excelling both. Many having to make a long round before they could fall into line, formed a source of attraction to the thousands of spectators of a humbler class that filled the streets from every available point of view.

The street procession formed on Constitution-hill. A squadron of Life Guards preceded two carriages with six horses to each, and a proper escort, one containing the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, attended by Lady Isabella Thynne; and the other Viscount Deerhurst, Lord Edward Thynne, Sir Howard Douglas, and Lieut.-Colonel Edmund

Currey. Then came two other royal carriages in the same manner—one with the Duchess of Cambridge and Lady Elizabeth Murray ; the other Lord Villiers and Sir James Henry Reynett, followed by one containing the Duke of Sussex and his suite ; and two with the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and their suite. After them came the King's barge master and forty-eight watermen. They were followed by ten carriages containing the following members of the royal household :—

- I. Lieut.-Col. J. Wilson, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber ; Capt. Hen. Murray and Col. Adolphus Cottin, Gentlemen Ushers, Quarterly Waiters to the Queen ; and John Bott, Esq., Secretary to the Keeper of the Privy Purse.
- II. R. Hon. Frederick Byng and Lieut.-Col. W. G. Master, Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber to the King ; Thomas Ramsden, Esq., Gentleman Usher, Daily Waiter, and John Strachan, Esq., Gentleman Usher, Quarterly Waiters.
- III. Major-General James Macdonnell, Principal Equerry to the Queen ; Geo. V. Mundy, Esq., and Hon. Charles Grimstone, her Pages of Honour ; and F. E. A. Stephenson, Page of Honour to the King.
- IV. Captain Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, R.N., Groom of the Robes ; Sir Robert Stopford, Groom of the Bedchamber ; Lord Amelius Beauclerc, Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to the King ; and the Hon. Adolphus E. A. Graves, and William H. H. Bathurst, his Pages of Honour.

- V. Sir Andrew Barnard, Chief Equerry and Clerk-Marshal to the King; Viscount Valletort, acting Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; Lord James O'Brien, Lord of the Bedchamber; and Arthur W. F. Somerset, Esq., Page of Honour to his Majesty.
- VI. Ladies William Russell and Caroline Wood, Women of the Bedchamber; the Right Hon. Robert Grosvenor, Comptroller to his Majesty's Household; and the Earl of Belfast, his Vice Chamberlain.
- VII. The Hon. Misses Mitchell and Sneyd, Maids of Honour; the Right Hon. Sir Wm. Hen. Fremantle, Treasurer of the King's Household; and Sir Henry Wheatley, Keeper of the Privy Purse.
- VIII. The Hon. Misses Eden and Boyle, Maids of Honour; Earl Amherst, Lord of the Bedchamber in Waiting; and Sir George Seymour, Master of the Robes.
- IX. The Hon. Misses Hope Johnstone and Olivia de Ros, Maids of Honour; Marquis of Winchester, Groom of the Stole; and Earl Howe, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.
- X. Marchioness of Westmeath, Lady of the Bedchamber; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household; the Earl of Shaftesbury, acting as Lord Steward, in the absence of the Marquis Wellesley; and the Earl of Albemarle, Master of the Horse.
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Then came a squadron of Life Guards, followed by his Majesty's equerries and aides-de-camp mounted in double line, and attended by a groom and two yeomen riders on each side, the deputy-adjutant and quartermaster-general, and the deputy quartermaster-general of the artillery, the quartermaster and adjutant-general and the secretary to the General Commanding-in-Chief. The Master of the Buckhounds (Viscount Anson) attended by two grooms, preceded six of the King's horses, each led by two grooms. After the deputy knight marshal and his men four abreast came the exons and clerks of the cheque, a hundred yeomen of the guard on foot with their lieutenant and ensign mounted.

Twelve footmen preceded the state carriage containing their Majesties, which was drawn by eight horses; four grooms on each side, two footmen at each door, and a yeoman of the guard at each wheel; Viscount Combermere, the Gold Stick, and the Marquis of Clanricarde, Captain of the Yeomen, riding on each side attended by four grooms. In attendance on the King and Queen were the Duchess of Gordon, acting for the Duchess Dowager of Leeds as Mistress of the Robes, and the Countess Brownlow Lady of the Bedchamber in waiting.

Another squadron of Life Guards closed the procession, which under the direction of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence directed its course through Pall Mall, Charing Cross, Whitehall, and Parliament-street,

evidently to the great gratification of the many thousand spectators that lined the way on either side, not only on the footpaths, but on the temporary scaffolding and at the windows and housetops, and arrived at the great west entrance of Westminster Abbey at a quarter past eleven.

Here their Majesties were received by the great officers of state and noblemen appointed to bear the regalia, and the prelates who had important duties to perform in the ceremonial. A procession having been formed, after the King and Queen had been robed in the robing-room, they advanced up the nave towards the choir as the choristers sang the anthem, "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." In this procession, between the heralds and the officers of the royal household and the Ministers of State, came the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. The Archbishop of Canterbury followed the Lord Chancellor.

Of the Queen's regalia the ivory rod with the dove was borne by Earl Camden, the sceptre and cross by the Earl of Jersey, and the crown by the Duke of Beaufort. The Queen followed, supported by the Bishops of Winchester and Chichester, and attended by five gentlemen pensioners on each side; her train borne by the Duchess of Gordon, assisted by six daughters of earls — Ladies Georgiana Bathurst, Mary Pelham, Sophia Cust, Teresa Fox Strangways, Theodosia Brabazon, and Georgiana

Grey—and followed by the ladies and women of the bedchamber and the maids of honour.

Of the King's regalia, St. Edward's staff was borne by the Duke of Grafton, the golden spurs by the Marquis of Hastings, the sceptre with the cross by the Duke of St. Albans, the curtana by the Marquis of Salisbury, the second sword by the Marquis of Downshire, the third by the Marquis of Cleveland; their coronets carried by a page. Then followed the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, and Garter Principal King of Arms, Sir George Naylor, and the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain of England, the Marquis of Cholmondeley; the Royal Dukes with their train and coronet bearers; the High Constables of Ireland and Scotland (Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Erroll), the Earl Marshal of England (Duke of Norfolk) with his staff, and the Lord High Constable (Duke of Wellington) with his staff and baton of Field Marshal; Earl Grey with the sword of state, the Duke of Richmond with the sceptre and the dove, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord High Steward, with St. Edward's crown, and the Duke of Somerset with the orb.

After them the Bishop of Rochester bore the patina, the Bishop of Exeter the Bible, and the Bishop of Oxford the chalice, followed by the King, supported by the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Archbishop of York, his train borne by the Marquises of Worcester, Tichfield, Douro, and the

Earls of Kerry and Euston, assisted by the Master of the Robes and his grooms. On each side of his Majesty walked ten gentlemen pensioners, not in their appropriate costume, but in the uniform of officers of the Guards, headed by their lieutenant and standard-bearer; then came the groom of the stole, the gold stick and the master of the horse, the captains of the Yeomen of the Guard and of the Gentlemen Pensioners (Lord Foley) and of the Archer Guard of Scotland (Duke of Buccleugh), and a few other subordinates of the royal household.

All having been conducted to their appointed places at the conclusion of the anthem, the King attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marshal, preceded by Garter King of Arms, proceeded to different points of the enclosed area, where the Archbishop made the recognition, the spectators replying "God save King William the Fourth!" and on the last occasion the drums beat, and there was a loud flourish of trumpets.

His Majesty now took his seat, and the Bible, chalice, and patina, were placed on the altar, where two officers of the wardrobe spread a rich cloth of gold and laid two handsome cushions on the steps, while the Archbishop of Canterbury put on his cope and the bishops who had to read the Litany, their vestments. The King and Queen then, with their supporters and the bearers of the regalia, advanced

to the altar, where the King offered a pall and an ingot of gold, and the Queen a pall of gold; their Majesties knelt while the prayer "O God who dwellest in the high and holy place," was said by the Archbishop, and then were conducted to their chairs of state, when the Litany and Communion Service were read, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of London.

After the sermon the Archbishop administered the Coronation Oath, which was followed by the ceremony of anointing, and this concluded with a benediction; the spurs and sword were next laid upon the altar, and the latter returned to the King by the prelates, when his Majesty offered it at the altar, whence it was redeemed by Earl Grey, who carried it, deprived of its scabbard, during the remainder of the solemnity.

Subsequently his Majesty was invested with the mantle and received the orb, the ring and the sceptres, then was crowned by the Archbishop, the spectators shouting "God save the King!" the trumpets and drums and the park guns increasing the commotion within and without.

The prayers and anthems having been finished, the peers put on their coronets; the Bible was now presented to the King, and his Majesty was enthroned with the exhortation "Stand firm and hold fast." Then followed the customary acts of homage, while the choir sang another anthem, and the treasurer of the household scattered coronation medals.

The anointing, crowning, and enthroning of the Queen succeeded.

Their Majesties having partaken of the Sacrament and been disrobed, attended as before, proceeded out of the choir to the west door of the Abbey, and on their arrival at the platform, Garter proclaimed the King as "the Most High, the Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch, William the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, King of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and of Luneburg;" and when the regalia had been received by the officers of the Jewel Office in the robing chambers, their Majesties returned to St. James's Palace in the same state they had approached the Abbey, the ceremonial ending about three o'clock in the afternoon.

There was no banquet—the economists had sufficient influence to deprive the coronation of their Sovereign of this important feature; but the King entertained a large party of the royal family and nobility, with the principal officers of his household. The Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria took no part in the ceremony, and were also absent from the dinner: they were staying in the Isle of Wight. Many comments were made at the time of the absence of the heiress presumptive on such an occasion; but it was subsequently stated that the indisposition of the Princess rendered her removal from her residence to town, to take part

in so exciting a pageant, too hazardous to be attempted.

Universal rejoicing followed the coronation. In London the day was kept as a general holiday, the evening distinguished by a general illumination. In the country there were similar signs of rejoicing; and at Hastings the Princess Sophia Matilda of Gloucester selected the day for laying the first stone of a new church for the accommodation of the suburb of that beautiful town, now so well known as St. Leonards. A few days later the same ceremony was performed by the Princess Victoria at East Cowes. In short, there seemed so universal a satisfaction throughout the island in consequence of this necessary connexion of the King with his people having been performed, that the well-disposed began to believe that democratic opinions had totally disappeared from the land.

His Majesty since his accession had ennobled his eldest son by the title of Earl of Munster, Viscount Fitzclarence, and Baron Tewkesbury; his son-in-law, the Earl of Erroll in the Scottish peerage, was made a British peer by the title of Baron Kilmarnock. Subsequently the Earl of Fingall was made Baron Fingall; the Earl of Sefton, Baron Sefton; the Earl of Leitrim, Baron Clements; Lord Kinnaird, Baron Rossie; and the Right Hon. James Wellbore Ellis, Baron Dover. All were additions to the English peerage previous to the coronation.

After this ceremony the Earl of Cassilis was created Marquis of Ailsa; the Earl of Breadalbane, Earl of Ormelie and Marquis of Breadalbane; Earl Grosvenor, Marquis of Westminster; Lord George Cavendish, Earl of Burlington and Lord Cavendish of Keighley; Viscount Duncan, Earl of Camperdown; Viscount Anson, Earl of Lichfield; the Marquis of Headfort, Baron Kenlis; the Earl of Meath, Baron Claworth; the Earl of Dunmore, Baron Dunmore; the Earl of Ludlow, Baron Ludlow; Lord Belhaven, Baron Hamilton; and Lord Howden, Baron Howden; the Hon. William Maule, brother to the Earl of Dalhousie, Baron Panmure; the Hon. George Cadogan, Baron Oakley; Sir George Warwick Bampfylde, Baron Poltimore; Sir Robert Lawley, Baron Wenlock; Sir Edward Price Lloyd, Baron Mostyn; William Fitzhardinge Berkeley, Baron Segrave; Lieut.-Col. Arthur Chichester, Baron Templemore; and William Lewis Hughes, Baron Dinorben. A few days afterwards Lord Cloncurry was elevated to the English peerage as Baron Cloncurry, and Sir James Saumarez as Lord de Saumarez.

Thus were twenty-two votes added to the supporters of Government in the House of Lords. Ministers availed themselves of the opportunity to strengthen their position in other quarters. In addition to numerous promotions in the army, twenty-eight baronets were created, and the honour of knighthood conferred very nearly to the same

extent; the aldermen of London and Dublin coming in for a share of the former, and the distinguished architect Soane, being included in the latter; and subsequently Charles Bell and John Frederic Herschel were thought of for the same honour.

In the meantime the House of Commons proceeded with the Ministerial measure; the third reading was carried by a reduced majority of 58, but on the subsequent question, that the Bill do pass, there ensued a spirited debate that lasted three days; and after many able speeches had been delivered, it was carried by a majority of 109 on the 21st. On the following day it was sent up to the Lords, and read a first time.

The distinguished leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords did not lose a particle of his confidence under these circumstances. It is evident that he watched every proceeding of the Government with the greatest interest, but without any anxiety for the result—the ceremony of bringing the Reform Bill before the peers among the number. An account of what then took place he forwarded to his correspondent. At the same time, as the reader will find, he entered at length into his own measures, and carefully reviewed the existing state of parties.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, Sept. 24, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You'll have seen the account of the Bill coming to the House of Lords. The *Times* newspaper has endeavoured to write the proceeding into an *affair*. There never was anything so flat. O'Connell and some of that sort made a sort of *hear, hear*, when Lord John presented the Bill to the Speaker. I did not hear it, but the Bishop of London did. And I understand that from that moment he determined that he would vote against the Bill. Of this last fact, however, I am not so sure. I believe that he said that this cheer had induced him to make up his mind.

I had to dine here with me on Wednesday a few of the principal opposers of the Bill. We agreed to allow the first reading to pass in silence, unless something should be said to render reply necessary, and not to object to the naming of the day for the second reading by the patrons of the Bill. We agreed that we would vote against the second reading, and to reject the Bill upon that stage. We likewise agreed that, on discussing the Bill, we would not object to any other plan, but confine ourselves to the Bill itself.

I don't know that we have lost any supporters upon whom I counted in the last Parliament, excepting the Duke of St. Albans, Lord Stradbroke, and Lord Lake. I am not certain of the first—I am of the two last. The King has created twenty-five peers for them in ten months! They will have a new Bishop (Maltby), and, it is said, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Norwich, and even the Archbishop of York. All this

adds about forty to their comparative numbers. But we shall be left with a very considerable majority.

I reckon upon Lord Arundel's attendance. I saw him in the House one day lately, but I beg you to write to him.

I understand that you have Lord Delamere's proxy.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

Petitions in favour of the Reform Bill were presented in great numbers by the supporters of Government in the House of Lords till the 3rd of October, when Earl Grey proposed the second reading of the Bill. Then ensued one of the most interesting displays of intellectual power that had ever been seen in any legislative assemblage. Although it might be supposed that the many distinguished orators who had addressed themselves so vigorously to the subject in the Commons during the brilliant series of discussions that followed the introduction of the measure, had completely exhausted it of its interest, the extraordinary talent displayed in the House of Lords during five nights that the debate on the second reading lasted, was acknowledged even in quarters most opposed to the influence of the peers.

Lord Wharncliffe proposed, as an amendment, that the Bill be read that day six months, which

having been seconded and put from the woolsack, there ensued, says a public writer, "one of the most memorable discussions in parliamentary history; for skill, force, and variety of argument, for historical, constitutional, and scholastic illustration, it was never surpassed. That some reform was necessary appeared to be generally conceded, and both sides of the noble assembly maintained their opinions with the dignified consciousness of rectitude of intention, and the most laudable patience and temper."¹

The Duke of Wellington spoke on the second night, and made a very powerful speech. He complained that he had been misrepresented as to opinions alleged to have been expressed by him previous to his resignation of office. He approved of the existing institutions of the country, and said that were he to attempt to invent a new constitution, he would endeavour to frame one as much as possible like the present, in which property should maintain its proper influence. He averred that the Government measure would violate both the principle and practice of the constitution; that the town representation would be thrown into the hands of close self-elected committees, and destroy the balance of the agricultural representation. It would also create a fierce democratic constituency, which would return only members bound to advocate the same opinions.

¹ Wade's "British History," 906.

The next day the Marquis of Londonderry attacked the Bill with greater vehemence. The Duke of Gloucester, though he acknowledged himself a reformer, also declared against it. The Duke of Sussex supported it, so did the Earl of Radnor, Lord Melbourne, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Viscount Goderich, Lord Plunket, and the Lord Chancellor, in very able speeches. Quite as powerfully was it opposed by the Earl of Winchester, the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Wynford, the Earl of Eldon, Lord Lyndhurst, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the division at a quarter past six in the morning, there were — *Contents* 158, *Non-contents* 199; majority against the Government 41.

Lord Sidmouth writes on the 11th of October, "What is to follow, perplexes all the powers of conjecture; a creation of peers, resignation of Ministers, prorogation of Parliament, all come within these limits. At all events, we must expect a considerable degree of agitation, which no pains will be spared to keep up and heighten. But we have done our duty; and there can be no comparison but what, I am convinced, will prove satisfactory, between the consequences of performing, and those which could not but be anticipated from neglecting it. But I write as a short-sighted mortal; a higher Power must decide our destiny."

This result created not less disappointment than rage amongst the supporters of the Government,

the most exciting language was freely used, and a disposition shown to resort to violence. Indeed, the Marquis of Londonderry and other noblemen who had had the manliness to express their opinions, as they had a constitutional right to do, in their place in Parliament, were savagely assaulted by the mob. The example of London rioting and outrage spread to the provinces. In Derby, the town gaol and the houses of many respectable inhabitants were demolished. At Nottingham, the ancient castle, the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, was destroyed. Similar mischief was perpetrated in other places.

On the 12th, a mob was suffered to march upon St. James's Palace, under the pretence of presenting addresses, and several mansions were stoned with vindictive fury. Lord Eldon, writing to Lady F. J. Banks on the following day, says:—"Our day here yesterday was tremendously alarming. Very fortunately for me, the immense mob of reformers (hardly a decent-looking man amongst them) proceeded first to the Duke of Wellington's and set about the work of destruction. This, after some time, brought to that end of Piccadilly some hundreds of the police in a body, and the Blues coming up from the levée, the appearance of this large force was a complete protection to me, dissipating the multitude that were a little higher up Piccadilly. They had probably heard that the soldiers had behaved with great firmness in or near St. James's-square. The civil power being on the

alert, and the military being known to be ready, the night was passed most unexpectedly quiet hereabouts, and now I think we have nothing to dread. Londonderry has been seriously hurt. . . . The Duke of Newcastle's house, Lord Bristol's, and all other anti-reforming lords', have been visited, and left without glass in their windows. All the shops in the town were shut yesterday. The accounts from Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and other places, are very uncomfortable."

Such was the manner in which the supporters of the Reform Bill answered the arguments of those who were opposed to it. But some excuse might be made for a mob excited by the language expressed in the House of Commons in a discussion that took place there on the 10th, when a popular member after some expressions suggestive of violence, said he was convinced that, if the measure of reform were ultimately refused, no Government could exist unsupported by the sword. Sir Robert Peel animadverted with much warmth on the opinions expressed, and on the advice that had been given to the people not to pay taxes.

Discussions continued in both Houses on the rejection of the Bill and the outrages that had followed it, till the 20th, when his Majesty prorogued Parliament with a speech referring to the laws that had been passed; and to the arrangements made by the Conference assembled in London for the separation of Holland and Belgium. Thanks were

then given for the Queen's provision and for the supplies voted for the current year; a strict attention to a well-considered economy promised, and the assembly were dismissed with a recommendation to exercise the most careful attention for the preservation of tranquillity. Finally, the King was made to express his unaltered desire to promote the settlement of a constitutional reform "by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which in combination with those of the other orders of the State, are essential to the support of our free constitution."

Riots still continued. One of a most formidable character broke out at Bristol on the public entrance of the recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell. It lasted three days. The mansion-house, custom-house, excise office, and the bishop's palace, were plundered and set on fire, the toll-gates thrown down, the prison-doors burst open and the prisoners liberated; and in addition forty-two offices, dwelling-houses and warehouses, were completely destroyed—a loss of property incurred valued at half a million. At last the military attacked the rioters, and after a short conflict, in which three were killed, order was restored, but not till many of them had been destroyed in the flames they had themselves kindled after drinking to excess of plundered spirits.

Public meetings of a menacing character were held in various parts of the country, particularly in

the great manufacturing towns. In London, one of the London Political Union was adjourned from the Crown and Anchor to Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Sir Francis Burdett in the chair, when the organization of a National Union, with branch societies sending delegates to the central council, was agreed to. At a subsequent meeting the chairman appears to have felt for the first time a little distrust of the intentions of some of his associates; for, on a proposal that part of the council should be representatives of the working classes, Sir Francis ventured to demur, saying that it assumed the existence of a distinction of classes with separate interests. Nevertheless the proposal was adopted, and Sir Francis sagaciously withdrew his name from the association. Probably he had had an opportunity of learning the fallacy of his statements in the House of Commons respecting the authors of the incendiary publications quoted in a former page.

Incendiary fires, between the 2nd and 9th of November, became frequent in Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Somersetshire—the natural consequences of the inflammatory language that had been tolerated. The populace having been so far encouraged, announced a meeting of the Political Union of the Working Classes at White Conduit House, with Mr. Thomas Wakley in the chair, to demand universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments; and the programme stated thus: "All

property honestly acquired is sacred and inviolable; that all men are born equally free and have certain natural and inalienable rights; that all hereditary distinctions of birth are unnatural and opposed to the equal rights of man, and ought to be abolished;" and declared that the conveners of the meeting would never be satisfied with any law that stopped short of these principles.

The Home Secretary and the magistrates made these persons aware that a meeting for such objects was illegal and seditious, and it was postponed. The Government followed up this blow with a proclamation, declaring affiliated political unions unlawful, and cautioning persons from belonging to such combinations, and on the following day (22nd) the Birmingham Association abandoned its plan of organization.

France continued to be agitated by revolutionary movements, more particularly in Paris, where the news of the fall of Warsaw, and consequent triumph of the Russians, created immense excitement. On the 16th of September a demonstration was made in the garden of the Palais Royal by men marching in a body singing the Marseillaise and the Parisienne, and shouting "Guerre aux Russe!" "Vive la Pologne!" They assailed the house of the Minister for Foreign Affairs with stones, and threw down a part of the palisades next the Boulevard; but some troops dispersed them. On the following days the Ministers, Casimir Perier

and General Sebastiani, were burnt in effigy. The crowds increased and evinced such a tendency to commotion that the National Guard were called out as well as some cavalry. The former appeared wearing crape round their arms, as if in mourning for the loss of Poland.

Very violent discussions took place in the Chambers respecting the foreign policy of the Government, but the latter were supported by a majority. After the debate on the Reform Bill in England in the House of Lords, the Chambers passed a measure for the abolition of an hereditary peerage, by a division of 324 to 86. This triumph of Republican principles shortly afterwards bore its appropriate fruit in an insurrection that broke out in the important city of Lyons. The working classes armed and drove the military from the town on the 21st of November, but shortly afterwards Marshal Soult arrived with reinforcements, and at the head of 26,000 men entered Lyons, where, having disbanded the National Guard and punished other regiments that had disgraced themselves by their retreat, he speedily restored order.

Poland was entirely prostrate; all opposition had ceased; the principal persons involved in the insurrection had either fallen in battle or taken to flight, and their country became more completely than before a Russian province. In Belgium the King had become more reconciled to his subjects, and the arrangements having been completed that

guaranteed the integrity of his kingdom, he addressed himself earnestly to the task of government. In Portugal there had been an insurrection in a regiment stationed at Lisbon; in different prisons 26,000 persons were said to be confined for political offences; and so insecure was property considered in the neighbourhood of the capital, in consequence of outrages of all kinds being perpetrated on tradespeople known to be friendly to the English, that two English line-of-battle-ships were sent to the Tagus from Portsmouth for the protection of British interests.

The political associations in England had attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, who wrote the following note respecting them:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Walmer Castle, Nov. 23, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Since I wrote to you last night, I have received the proclamation against associations.

It appears to me that this proclamation must put an end to the plan which I proposed to you.

In the meantime Lord Wharncliffe is in a negotiation with the Government upon a modification of their plan. I don't think that this will ever come to anything, particularly if I should take part in it. I do not yet know what Lord Wharncliffe proposes. I will let you know as soon as I shall be informed.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.



Lord Eldon wrote to Lord Stowell:—

“The thing that I most feel to be dangerous is the formation of bodies of men under the name of political unions, which I see are forming in London, in every part of England, and in Ireland; the latter professedly to support English reform, as necessarily leading to the attainment of Irish as well as English objects. As to these political unions, I am confident that if Parliament does not do what it did between 1789 and 1794—put them down by Act of Parliament—they will put down the Parliament itself. I have seen a great deal of mischief going forward in the country, but till those institutions were becoming general, and till the Government, by connivance and apathy, can be said rather to encourage than discourage them, I have had hopes that matters might get right. The crisis is formidable because of these unions.”

The proclamation against the unions appears to have been the result of a communication from the Duke of Wellington; indeed, more than one of the leaders of the Opposition communicated with the Government on this subject. Lord Eldon tells his brother on the 8th of December:—“The Duke of Wellington did not attend the House the other night. I sat with him near an hour the day before in deep conversation, and most interesting letters that he wrote to a great personage produced the proclamation against the unions. But if Parlia-

ment will not interfere further, the proclamation will be of little use—I think of no use.”

The Government measure underwent some modifications. These alterations are thus described by Lord Sidmouth:—

“The new Bill is divested of some of the injustice and some of the inconsistencies and absurdities of the former, but of these an abundance is still retained. The destructive character and tendency of the old Bill remain unchanged and unmitigated in the new. Under its provisions too many doors will be closed against that accessibility to the House of Commons which ought to be afforded to all the classes of the community; and under its operation a domineering, democratical influence firmly and irrevocably established. All attempts at reasonable compromise have proved abortive, and it is too evident that this object would be effected without concessions which would be dangerous, or without such alterations in the Bill as Government dare not and will not accede to, whatever their wishes may be.”

The Houses of Parliament were opened on the 6th of December by the King in person, with a speech the first paragraph of which recommended a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the reform question; the second lamented the distress prevailing in various parts of the country; the third referred with great concern to the appearance of the cholera; the fourth notices the systematic opposi-

tion made to the payment of tithes in Ireland; the fifth drew attention to the proceedings of the Portuguese Government; the sixth mentioned the settlement of the divided kingdoms of Holland and Belgium; the seventh spoke of a convention made with the King of the French for the suppression of the African slave-trade; and concluded with the usual friendly assurance from foreign Powers. An assurance that the estimates for the ensuing year would be framed with the strictest regard for economy, was followed by an allusion to the disgraceful riots at Bristol. The speech concluded with an intimation that combinations, under whatever pretext, were incompatible with all regular government, and expressed a determination to repress all illegal proceedings.

Discussions on the address followed in both Houses; in the Commons they continued for a week. On the 12th of December Lord J. Russell again brought forward the Parliamentary Reform Bill, which after some observations by Sir Robert Peel, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Croker, was read a first time. On the 15th, in the Lords, after Lord Melbourne had moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the Irish Tithe Laws, the Earl of Wicklow denounced the agitation that had been suffered to proceed in Ireland.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brunswick-terrace, Dec. 13, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was much gratified by your Grace's letter, which I received yesterday. I had not heard the particulars of the conference so detailed, but had been told that the result had failed, which I sincerely regret. The prospect is most gloomy. The measure of reform will, I fear, be ultimately carried with all its objections; but I cannot go so far as your Grace in thinking that the means of carrying it will be found in an increase of the peerage.

Lord C. has conducted himself with great propriety and good sense, and has created a powerful impression favourable to his character, and talents, and judgment. The reform question is not alone the great object of alarm. It is clear that no decisive measure is to be taken to put down the political unions, which supersede all government. Sir Herbert Taylor speaks in the highest terms of Lord C. I have, however, no communication with him, as you may readily suppose, on political matters; but I am sure you will give me credit for availing myself at all times of an opportunity of placing in its just and fair light the candid and loyal principles on which your political conduct is guided; and though your present exertions have not been successful, I am persuaded they have operated with advantage to your Grace and to your friends.

Believe me always, my dear Duke,

With respect and sincere attachment,

Very faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—I have not yet heard what passed yesterday in the House of Commons.

Respecting this communication we publish the following commentary:—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland-square, 16th Dec. 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I return you the Brunswick-terrace letter. It is quite ludicrous in its court language, and in its mortal apprehension of committing the writer to the fearful risk of the expression of any opinion; but though I trace in every word of it his personal fears and cautions about himself, I do not consider what he says about C. and you as the protecting expression of his own sentiments, but the awkward signification of the opinions of a greater person, which he dares not directly quote, and therefore thus obscurely alludes to.

I believe, amongst all reasonable and moderate men, the dissatisfaction at seeing the unions undisturbed is very general; and I remain still of opinion that the Ministers should have been systematically pursued upon that subject, more especially because you will see in Ld. Grey's Irish speech in this day's *Morning Post*, "his political creed always was, that the best way to suppress or prevent sedition was to take away all reasonable cause of complaint." Now, as our present laws prescribe more direct modes of preventing sedition, I think the Ministers should be directly charged with an avowed and systematic determination to suspend the execution of the laws against sedition, until those seditious cries and publications should have carried by intimidation their measure of reform.

What Ld. G. says in the same speech of the Irish

Association Act having expired "*accidentally*" by the *dissolution* of Parliament, is absolutely childish, though it does not appear to have been noticed.

I have just heard that the first clause in Ld. B.'s Bankrupt Bill appoints commissioners "under *the* Great Seal of the United Kingdoms of Gr. Br. and Ireland;" there being, as I am told, a separate English Great Seal and an Irish one. Again, I am told that in their new Act for selling coals by weight the coal-merchant, under penalties, is obliged to carry *scales* with him, but not a word about *weights*.

The *Herald's* Spanish Revolution is utterly disbelieved.

Yours ever most affectionately,

J. G.

Little more was done in Parliament during the remainder of the year. On the 16th Lord Althorp moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill, which created a very animated debate between Lord Porchester, Sir Edward Sugden, Mr. Bulwer, Lord Mahon, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Croker, and Lord Althorp. It was renewed on the following day by Sir R. Inglis, Mr. Stewart Wortley, Lord John Russell, Sir C. Wetherell, Mr. Stanley, Sir Robert Peel, and other members. On a division there was the large majority of 162 in favour of the Bill—exactly the number of the minority. The House then adjourned till after Christmas.

It was curious to watch the effect in France of the political proceedings in England: because Eng-

lishmen made a strong resistance to the progress of democratic principles, Frenchmen adopted them with feverish impatience. On this subject Lord Eldon, writing to Lady F. J. Banks, says:—

“I am told that the French in this country attribute very much what is passing in their own to our proceedings here. Our riots, our tumults, our talk and proceedings about reform, the rumours of creating peers to stifle the voice of the majority of peers here,—these things the French here think have hastened their country more to do the works of mischief they have done in France. Their countrymen are more volatile than we are; they have travelled somewhat quicker on the road to ruin than we sluggish Englishmen travel: but we are, I fear, on the same road.”

Such impressions were general among the distinguished statesmen of the party to which the venerable writer belonged, at the close of the year 1831.


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CHAPTER XV.

[1832.]


POPULAR APPEALS—"THE PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE SOCIETY"—
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF THE RESULT OF HIS
ADDRESS TO THE KING ON THE TENDENCY OF THE POLITICAL
ASSOCIATIONS—HIS REASONS FOR DECLINING TO INTERFERE—
PROGRESS OF THE REFORM BILL—AFFAIRS IN FRANCE AND IRELAND
—LORD HOLLAND'S DEFENCE OF THE KING OF THE FRENCH—
OPINIONS OF LORDS SIDMOUTH AND ELDON—MINISTERS DEFEATED
IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN COMMITTEE ON THE REFORM BILL
—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND SIR ROBERT PEEL CONSULTED—
GREAT EXCITEMENT—THE PROJECT OF FORMING A CONSERVATIVE
MINISTRY ABANDONED—ARRANGEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS
THAT SECURED THE PASSING OF THE BILL—WHIG TRIUMPH.



CHAPTER XV.

THE new year did not open encouragingly to the political party opposed to the measure, threatening changes in the representation, that the Government had evidently determined to carry at any cost. The increased majority at the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Commons, and the tone of the different societies that had been established to maintain what were called "the rights of the people," showed that the political agitation which had so powerfully excited the humbler classes of the community, had affected one branch of the Legislature, and might in all probability influence the other.

It is scarcely possible to give an adequate idea of the extent to which popular appeals were now made, for the express purpose of advancing the cause of democracy in the House of Commons. Among other devices, having this object in view, was the formation of an association called "The Parliamentary Candidate Society," which was instituted to recommend representatives to constituencies. It was a kind of political "private inquiry" office, sitting at the head quarters of Radi-



calism, the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, where every information was procurable respecting any person who chose to offer to represent in Parliament any borough, city, or county in the kingdom. At its head was a well-known tailor in Charing-cross, an influential member of the philosophical reformers of the *Westminster Review*, and the society was supported by all the Whigs and Radicals who could afford to subscribe to its funds.

A record was kept of the votes of every member of the present Parliament, of his absences at divisions, of the number of his speeches, and of the extent of his attendance, and an analysis made of whatever he had spoken or written on political subjects; more particularly on those measures the society was most desirous to advance; such as reform, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. As to persons not in Parliament, a jealous scrutiny was made into their antecedents, connexions, thoughts and actions; and when they ventured to present themselves on the hustings for nomination, with professions of liberality, they were exposed to a series of questions and comments they were generally totally unprepared to answer.

The extent to which a society having such machinery could interfere with the free and unbiassed choice of the electors, began at last to make itself evident to the more sensible portion of its patrons, and they gradually withdrew themselves and their subscriptions. A deficiency in the funds

in a short time caused the machinery to stop, and no one profited by the reports, the analyses, and the private inquiries, but the ingenious speculator who had superintended them.

The correspondence of the Duke of Wellington with the Duke of Buckingham continued, and in the following letter the reader will find a true version of the interposition of the former to save the country from the dangers threatened by the political societies, and the subsequent conduct of the King and his Ministers. The Government could not afford totally to break with the democratic orators, and therefore made only a mild attempt at interference, when it was made plain to them that treason was stalking boldly abroad.

On other subjects the Duke will be found not less explicit. His correspondent appears to have recommended a second interposition; the arguments with which his Grace replies to the suggestions that had been made to him, are particularly worthy of observation. How conclusive they were was proved not many months afterwards. His knowledge of the character of the King was evidently profound. His concluding observations, deprecating interference, were founded on the same intimate knowledge of the very critical times in which he wrote.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, Jan. 2, 1832.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received last night your note by your messenger. I could not follow your advice even if I concurred with you in thinking that the course which you propose is advisable.

I have not yet quitted the apartment in which I had the pleasure of receiving you last. If I was to go to Brighton, I should probably be unable to attend the King, or to converse with him.

But is the course which you propose advisable?

When I wrote to the King in November, on the armament of the political associations, I had in hand a case on which I was certain that nineteen twentieths of the whole country would concur with me. I did it likewise at a period of the year at which I knew that if the King wished to get rid of the bonds in which he is held, I could assist him in doing so. There was time to call a new Parliament, and the sense of the country would have been taken on a question on which there would be no doubt.

What did the King do? He concurred in (I may say without exaggeration) every opinion which I gave him. His Ministers saw their scrape, and prevailed upon the press and the political associations to alter their course; they issued a mock proclamation, and promised the King a Bill to repress the associations, which promise they never performed, and the King is quite satisfied and goes on with them as well as ever!

This happened on a really good and understood case,

and at a peculiarly favourable season of the year. Let us see how we stand on this point of the peerage.

I don't deny that the independence of the H. of Lords is a very important object to the country, nor that the country would respond favourably to an appeal on that point. But mind! it would be represented and understood as an appeal on the question of reform or no reform.

But is there time for an appeal or to call a new Parliament from this day? You could not open a new Parliament even if you were to dissolve on this day, till the 8th of March at soonest. The Mutiny Bill expires on the 25th March.

Observe what is to be done. I am to see the King, to advise him to refuse to create peers, to tell him that I will form a Government and protect him from that demand; to convince him that I can so protect him. I must then form this Government and dissolve the Parliament, which, with all haste, could not be effected in ten days; which would bring the opening of the new Parliament to the 18th March.

But it may be supposed that we can do without a new Parliament. That appears to me to be absolutely impossible. This House of Commons is formed purposely to carry parliamentary reform. It is a part of the conspiracy against the House of Lords; it would not hear of a Minister who should found his authority on the basis of protection of the independence of the H. of Lords. If I should go to the King, therefore, I must answer the first question which he would put to me, by telling him that I could not look for the support of the present House of Commons to any Ministry formed on the principle of supporting the independence of the H.

of Lords, and that I could not at this moment advise him to dissolve his Parliament.

But would the King embark with me in a new course? He would just talk enough to discover whether I had myself any confidence in the course which I should recommend to him. If he should find that I saw the risks and dangers, which as an honest and experienced man I could not avoid seeing, he would shake me off, and would found his compliance with the recommendations of his Ministers even upon what should have passed with me.

Believe me, my dear Duke, that no man feels more strongly than I do the dangers of our situation. The great mischief of all is the weakness of our poor King, who cannot or will not see his danger, or the road out of it when it is pointed out to him; and he allows himself to be deceived and trifled with by his Ministers.

I know that the times are approaching, if not come, when men must consider themselves as on a field of battle, and must sacrifice themselves for the public interests. But it behoves a man like me to look around him and consider the consequences, not to himself alone, but what is more important to the public interests, of every step he takes; and I must say, that in that view of this case, I differ in opinion with you, and am convinced that I should do harm rather than good by interference.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, K.G.

It is evident that the Duke saw the true state of

the case, and though perfectly aware of the nature and proximity of the evils that threatened the country, he had carefully examined his means of preventing their approach, and had rightly come to the conclusion that they were not to be relied upon. His insight into the views of the Whigs, and into the intentions of their Radical supporters, was as clear as it was comprehensive, and he shows the insuperable difficulties that lay in the way of his attempting to counteract them. The statesmanlike exposition of his position, which he lays before his correspondent, possesses a higher recommendation in the evidence it affords of the writer's honesty of purpose. He would have been totally indifferent to danger, and have cared for no obstacles, could he have seen a way open to him that he could have conscientiously recommended to his Sovereign; but as this did not present itself, he would not interfere only to embarrass the King and still further add to the unhealthy excitement of the country.

The sentiments with which he concludes his communication show the deep sense of responsibility that influenced him. He looked to the public interests, and though quite ready to sacrifice himself for their advancement, was not to be persuaded into taking any step that held out no prospect of advancing them. These are principles that ought to actuate all public men under similar temptations to action; but it is on very rare occasions only that we see them displayed.

The House of Commons resumed its sittings on the 17th of January. Two days afterwards Mr. Stanley moved for leave to bring in the Reform Bill for Ireland, which after a few remarks was permitted. The same process was then gone through with the Bill for Scotland. On the 20th, Lord John Russell brought the English Reform Bill into Committee, previously to which Sir Robert Peel divided the House on the necessity of having information respecting the fifty-six boroughs to be disfranchised, when the Government had a majority of 53. Subsequently an amendment was moved by Mr. Croker, when they had another of 75.

On the 23rd the House went again into Committee, when Mr. Goulburn moved an amendment, which was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Sir J. Warrender, and Mr. Croker, and was opposed by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell. It was lost, the division being 210 against 112. Two more divisions took place on the 24th, with similar results.

On the 26th, the Earl of Aberdeen brought forward a motion in the House of Lords on the affairs of Belgium, and strongly censured the policy of Government. This Lord Grey justified. The Duke of Wellington supported the motion. But on a division there was a majority for Ministers of 37. On the same day Mr. Herries brought under the consideration of the House of Commons the conduct of Ministers in having disposed of public

money without the consent of Parliament. An animated debate followed, in the course of which Mr. O'Connell asserted that the appropriation made by Ministers was a spoliation of the people's property. On a division the majority of the Government fell to 24.

During the progress of the Reform Bill in Committee several amendments were proposed, but the divisions were always in favour of Government, though varying in the extent of the majority. The third reading came on on March 19th, and concluded on the 22nd, with a majority for Ministers of 116. On the 26th it was brought up to the Lords by a deputation from the Commons, and read a first time without a division.

In the meantime affairs in France had been proceeding in a manner far from encouraging to the King of the Barricades. The Chamber of Deputies having abolished the hereditary peerage, now laid hands on the property of the Crown, and the most violent excitement daily manifested itself during their deliberations. The Chamber of Peers passed a Bill for the banishment of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the family of Bonaparte, by a majority of 51.

A plot for assassinating the King at a ball at the Tuileries, on the 2nd of February, was discovered, and the conspirators appeared with arms in different parts of the capital, but were speedily overpowered and a great number captured and sent to prison.

Disturbances in the provinces were of constant occurrence.

The condition of Ireland continued to be most alarming, midnight plunderings and assassinations being frequent, the farmers and peasantry refusing to pay tithes, and the demagogues apparently having it all their own way. Under these circumstances the Protestants united for mutual protection, and a long and sanguinary conflict appeared to be imminent. On the 29th of February, the Earl of Roden, one of the most truly patriotic members of the Irish peerage, presented a petition to the King at a levée, from the Protestants of Ireland, against the Irish Reform Bill, with 230,000 signatures.

The Government continued to distribute honours and emoluments broadcast among supporters and expected supporters. A few persons distinguished for intellectual ability participated in this liberality, and Dr. David Brewster obtained the honour of knighthood with Robert Smirke the architect. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., had been appointed Secretary-at-War and sworn of the Privy Council. The 21st of March was held as a General Fast. The public mind still remained in a most disturbed state in the Metropolis and in the provinces, and at Dunstable property was destroyed by incendiary fires to a large amount.

There was another riot in Paris on the 1st of April, which lasted two days, in which both Carlists and Republicans were said to have assisted.

The Government was getting daily more unpopular at home, and had put an end to the good understanding that had hitherto been maintained between France and England by sending an expedition into Ancona. This was the first of a series of acts committed by Louis Philippe to advance that selfish policy for which he subsequently became notorious. The number of his admirers in England began sensibly to diminish, and severe attacks were made upon him both in public and private.

Lord Holland, though he had long acquired a certain celebrity as a most zealous Imperialist, thought it necessary to defend the King of the French, which he did at considerable length in a letter written at this period. He appears not to have known the various intrigues in which the Duc d'Orleans had been engaged previously to his ascent of the French throne, and gives the most favourable interpretation to his proceedings when he became King.¹ Lord Holland, however, was sometimes eccentric in his judgments, and subsequent events proved the accuracy of those impressions respecting Louis Philippe, which he vainly endeavoured to remove.

The revival of the parliamentary struggle in the House of Lords was regarded with increasing anxiety by the more experienced statesmen among

¹ "Foreign Reminiscences." By Henry Richard Lord Holland. Edited by his son, Henry Edward Lord Holland. 1850. Appendix, 350.

the Opposition. Lord Sidmouth, writing to Lord Exmouth, says:—

“Would to God that we could be relieved from the dead weight that oppresses our unhappy country, consisting, as it does, of a spurious liberality, of most dangerous though mock reform, of disgrace abroad, and misrule and turbulence at home.” “You will find us all,” he wrote to his son-in-law three days later, “impressed with a deep sense of the awful state of the times. But fear is weakness. Let each of us discharge his various duties zealously and firmly, and learn to say with humble confidence,

“ ‘Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et je n’ai point d’autre crainte.’ ”

Towards the end of March Lord Sidmouth wrote to Lord Exmouth, stating—

“Lord Eldon’s heart is in the momentous subject now before the House of Lords. The unsteadiness of some of those who contributed to the victory in October last affects him deeply, as it must every one who thinks as he, and you, and I think, and who feels on such subjects as we feel. For my own part, I should prefer seeing this destructive Bill carried by a most unconstitutional and flagrant misuse of the royal prerogative, than at the expense of the consistency, honour, and character of the House of Lords. *I* will not, therefore, assist in relieving Lord Grey from the inducement to do wrong by doing wrong myself.”

In the same month Lord Eldon wrote to Lord Stowell:—

“It seems to me now too clear that the opponents to the Reform Bill will split upon the question about reading the Bill a second time, or rejecting it upon the second reading. If they do, I fear the Bill will pass. I attribute much to affright and fear of mobs. I don’t wonder that there should be such affright and fear. The numerous most violent and furious menacing letters which I receive are enough to affright persons less accustomed than I am to receive them. I am myself sure that those who are afraid of the immediate consequences of rejecting the Bill will ultimately suffer much more by passing it, the bishops particularly.”

On the 25th of April, which was Easter Monday, their Majesties were present at the opening of another new bridge, but a less imposing structure than the one that grandly spans the Thames from the City to the Borough; it was, nevertheless, very handsome, having been designed by Sir George Rennie, and built at an expense of 41,000*l*. It was the sixth bridge that had been erected at Staines within the last forty years, and its first stone had been laid by their Majesties, when Duke and Duchess of Clarence, on the 14th of September, 1829.

Two temporary triumphal arches were erected, and every preparation made in honour of such

illustrious visitors, the entire population of the neighbourhood assisting at the pageant, which passed off with entire success, to the evident gratification of their Majesties, and of every one present. The new bridge was much admired, especially when seen from the water. The middle arches had a span of seventy-four feet, and the side ones one of sixty-six; there were other arches on either side for the towing-path and land-floods; and the piers being over nine feet in thickness, the general effect was light and graceful.

On the 9th of April Earl Grey moved the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In the course of the debate that ensued it appeared, as Lord Eldon had announced, that there was a division in the Opposition. Lords Ellenborough, Mansfield, Wicklow, Lyndhurst, Wyndford, the Marquis of Londonderry, the Dukes of Wellington and Buckingham, and other peers, opposed the measure with unabated spirit; but the Earls of Harrowby and Haddington, and Lord Gage, who had before voted with them, announced their determination to vote for it. The discussion continued till the 13th, when, on the division, there was a majority for the second reading, of *nine*.

The House of Lords went into Committee on the Bill on the 7th of May, when Lord Lyndhurst moved an amendment that the consideration of the first clause should be postponed. The Earl of Harrowby and Lord Bexley supported the amend-

ment. The Duke of Wellington said, though averse to the Bill, as it had passed in that House by a majority, he considered himself bound as an honest member of Parliament to do his best to render it fit to contribute to the government of the country. Several other peers spoke with great animation for and against the measure, but on a division Ministers were left in a minority of thirty-five.

This result produced a startling effect upon the Government; and Earl Grey, after communicating with his colleagues, is said to have offered his Majesty the choice of two evils—the creation of a sufficient number of peers to secure the Reform Bill passing into a law, or the resignation of his Ministers. The King accepted the latter; the Administration resigned, and Lord Lyndhurst was sent for by his Majesty. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were at once consulted. The former knew that the state of things he has described in a preceding page had not in the slightest degree altered, and was adverse to undertaking the government of the country, though willing to assist an Administration that would bring forward such a modified measure of reform as would be approved of in the House of Lords.

Great care, however, was taken that his Grace should do nothing of the kind. The political unions and other mischievous associations were stirred up to a state of the most menacing activity. An immense meeting was held at Birmingham to

petition Parliament to insist that the Reform Bill should be passed without any alteration. In the London Political Union the names of 1200 new members were enrolled, and a resolution was agreed to, to pay no taxes till the Reform Bill had been passed.

In the House of Commons on the 10th of May, Lord Ebrington moved that an address be presented to his Majesty, earnestly imploring him to call to his counsels only such persons as were likely to make the Reform Bill the law of the land. After some violent speeches from its supporters, and an earnest and eloquent opposition from Sir Robert Peel and other members, it was carried by a majority of eighty.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the extent of the excitement that was got up for the express purpose of frightening the King, and preventing the formation of a new Administration. To prevent a charge of exaggeration we quote a description of the actual state of the country at this time, from a work well known for its ultra-Liberal principles:—

“The newspapers were almost entirely on the popular side, and kept up a raking fire against ‘the oligarchy’ and ‘usurping boroughmongers!’ At London, Birmingham, Manchester, and other large towns simultaneously, meetings were held to petition the House of Commons *to stop the supplies*. In the Metropolis, placards were everywhere exhibited enjoining the union of all friends to the cause—an

enforcement of the public rights at all hazards, and a general resistance to the payment of taxes, rates, and tithes. The political societies were in active communication; and at their meetings, and in the leading daily journals, *projects for organizing and arming the people* were openly discussed and recommended. In case of need the population of the large towns were ready to be precipitated on the Metropolis.”¹

The Duke of Wellington having consulted Lord Sidmouth² and other experienced statesmen, prudently abandoned the idea of forming a Government under such circumstances; and in an interview with the King on the 15th, he acknowledged his inability to promote the formation of a new Administration. What advice he gave we are not prepared to state, but there is reason to believe that he proposed the arrangement that was afterwards carried into effect. On the 17th his Grace, in the House of Lords, entered into an explanation of the part he had been obliged to take in the memorable transactions of the last week. Contemporaneously the following letter from the King’s private secretary was circulated among the Opposition peers:—

St. James’s Palace, May, 1832.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am honoured with his Majesty’s commands to acquaint your lordship that all difficulties to the arrangements in

¹ Wade’s “British History Chronologically Arranged,” 914.

² Dean Pellew’s “Life of Lord Sidmouth,” iii. 435.

progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House to-night from a sufficient number of peers that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

I have the honour to be,

Yours sincerely,

HERBERT TAYLOR.

The Duke of Buckingham had taken a deep interest in these proceedings, and had originally, perhaps, in some measure assisted in producing them, by a letter addressed to the King on the state of the nation, which had been published in the leading journals. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington for information respecting the re-establishment of the late Government, which produced the following reply:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

London, May 17, 1832.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received your note last night. The newspapers of this morning do not appear to indicate any final settlement; though I heard in the evening that the whole affair was arranged. It is quite hopeless to obtain any unanimous opinion from our friends upon parliamentary reform.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

- Some additional peers were made by the Government in the month of May; of these, Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne was created Baron Godolphin; and Lucius Viscount Falkland, Baron Hunsdon.

The House of Peers went into Committee on the Reform Bill, and though dissentient voices were occasionally heard, there was but little controversy when the several clauses were considered; the leaders of the Opposition absenting themselves till the Bill was read a third time, on the 4th of June, when the Earl of Harrowby expressed his disapprobation both of the Bill and of the recent proceedings of the Government, which he stigmatized as "nothing more nor less than a skilful party manœuvre, the success of which he did not envy."

On the third reading, there was a majority of eighty-four, and when the Lord Chancellor put the question "that this Bill do pass," it was carried without a division, and the royal assent was given by commission on the 7th.

Thus, after an unexampled parliamentary struggle, there passed into a law the most extraordinary measure that had ever been brought before the Legislature, whether considered with regard to the extensive changes it was to produce on the represented, or the delusive promises it held out to the unrepresented part of the community.

The inability of the Conservative leaders to form a Government was variously represented; but there

is no doubt that the Duke acted prudently, under the circumstances, in avoiding the opposition with which he was threatened. Sedition was rampant, and the Whigs apparently determined to sanction any proceedings that promised to drive their opponents from power, and restore it to themselves. It is impossible to exaggerate the dangerous state of the country, which the machinations of political adventurers had produced. Nothing like it had been seen in England before, and we trust nothing like it will ever be seen in England again.

In their desperation and utter regardlessness of consequences, that the supporters of reform would have encouraged serious disturbances, there can be but little doubt; and the people were generally so thoroughly deluded with respect to the benefits the measure was to bring them, and as to the cause of the opposition it had received, that they could easily have been excited into an attack on the members of a Conservative Ministry, if such had been formed, and on its political friends wherever they might be found.

Possibly the Whigs intended nothing more than intimidation; but it cannot be denied that their conduct showed a recklessness of consequences more characteristic of a defeated faction, than of the intense patriotism they assumed. However, if the end justifies the means, they no doubt were quite satisfied of the propriety of their proceedings, when they found themselves retaining the Ministerial

seats in Parliament, and sharing the Government patronage.

They then addressed themselves to the task of composing the disturbed elements of society; they endeavoured to hush the angry storm they had evoked; to pour oil upon the troubled waters; to calm the tempestuous winds; to throw across the black horizon the brilliant arc that promised place and power. No sooner were they assured of a continuance of office, than they commenced a more congenial labour. The noisiest of the Radical leaders were soothed with representations of the great moral triumph they had achieved; and the most violent of the democratic communities pacified with assurances of the coming millennium of labour they had expedited. Doubtless the big loaf and the low-priced beverage were made to figure prominently in the bright prospect that now dazzled the eyes of the children of toil; but the great source of satisfaction was the acknowledged inability of "the enemies of the people" to hinder the progress of those events that were to be so fruitful to them of material advantages. Such obstacles having been disposed of, the realization of their utmost hopes was merely a question of time, for which they were instructed to wait patiently, with perfect confidence in their Whig benefactors.

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